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OF THE HONOURABLE

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VOL. XXXVIII.

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# THE PLAN OF DOLGELLEY

(Traced from the Original by Lt. R. M. Ellis, R.N.).



Scale 6 Chains to an Inch.

B 3, Tir Tom Goch; B 4, Werglold Marian; to north of Green, the old Bowling Green; O, B 1, B 2, Fields.

All houses shown as in 1794.  
Notes: A portion of the river, Green, to the N.W. of the town, is shown in the dotted line. The houses are shown in the dotted line. The houses are shown in the dotted line.

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*The Editor desires to express his thanks to Mrs. Gurney, of Spirworth Park; Mr. T. P. Ellis; Lt. R. M. Ellis, R.N.; Mr. Isaac J. Williams, National Museum of Wales; Colonel Armstrong, Hengwrt; Major Richards, Caernywech; and Archdeacon Evans, for kind assistance in securing the illustrations appearing in this volume.—V.E.*

**The Editor welcomes the free expression in these pages of genuine opinions on any matters of interest relating to Wales—its modern developments as well as its ancient history—but disclaims responsibility alike for the opinions themselves, and for the manner in which they are expressed.**







Dolgelley, circa 1794.

*To face p. 1.*

(From an engraving in the National Museum of Wales, published August 1, 1794, by Harrison & Co., London.)

# **D Cymmrodor**

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VOL. XXXVIII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1927

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## **Merioneth Notes**

By T. P. ELLIS, I.C.S. (retired), M.A., F.R.HIST.S.,  
*Author of "Welsh Tribal Law and Custom".*

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GENERAL John Vaughan, C.B., the present owner of Nannau and Hengwrt, has been kind enough to allow me access to the archives of the family estates, and has expressed his readiness to allow me to publish anything I may find in them of historical interest.

The archives, in the main, are of family interest only, and illustrate how the important estates have been built up; but occasional other documents of importance are to be found, with some of which these notes deal. The notes are rough, disjointed ones, made partly during a casual inspection of some of these archives, and put together partly from other sources. No pretence is made of arranging them in sequence.

### **I. SURVEYS of 1794.**

There are two surveys in the Nannau archives of this period. One is of the several estates in Merioneth belonging to Griffith ap Hywel Vaughan, Esq., the third son of the first Sir Robert Vaughan; the second of the estates of the eldest son, the famous Sir Robert. There is no survey of the estates of the second son, who succeeded to the Rug property.

The two surveys are profusely illustrated by excellent maps of each demesne, farm, group of farms, or lot of tenements. Each field, etc., is numbered, and in the script the name and area of every lot is given, along with the name of the existing tenant of each holding. No mention is made of the rents or renders payable, nor of any rights which the tenants might have in the waste.

The title page of each volume and every map are illuminated with beautifully drawn sketches of country characters, such as shepherds, dairy-maids, and the like. At the end of each volume there is an abstract of the particulars of the various tenements.

The Hengwrt estate, in the possession of Griffith ap Hywel Vaughan, Esq., amounted in area to 1,612 acres 1 rood 24 poles. It comprised, in addition to farms and other tenements, the demesne of Hengwrt, the farm of Vaner, on which Cymmer Abbey stands, the Golden Lion and the Ship Inns at Dolgelley.

The Nannau estate, possessed by Sir Robert Vaughan, amounted in area to 7,423 acres 1 rood 8 poles. It comprised, in addition to many farms and tenements, the demesne of Nannau, Dolserau Ucha (in the tenancy of Mr. William Anwyl), Dolwcheogrhwyd (in the tenancy of Mr. Howell Pugh), Plas yn Brithdir (in the tenancy of Mr. Lewis Thomas), and the Blue Lion, Dinas Mawddwy. Certain of the properties, subsequently sold, are noted in pencil as sold. The documents are in good preservation and bound in calf and red morocco respectively. The binding of both volumes, however, is broken and stands in need of repair.

In the absence of any statement of rents, the main interest of the documents lies in the careful maps, and in the place-names, some of which throw light on local history. The sketch-maps of Dolgelley and Towyn are

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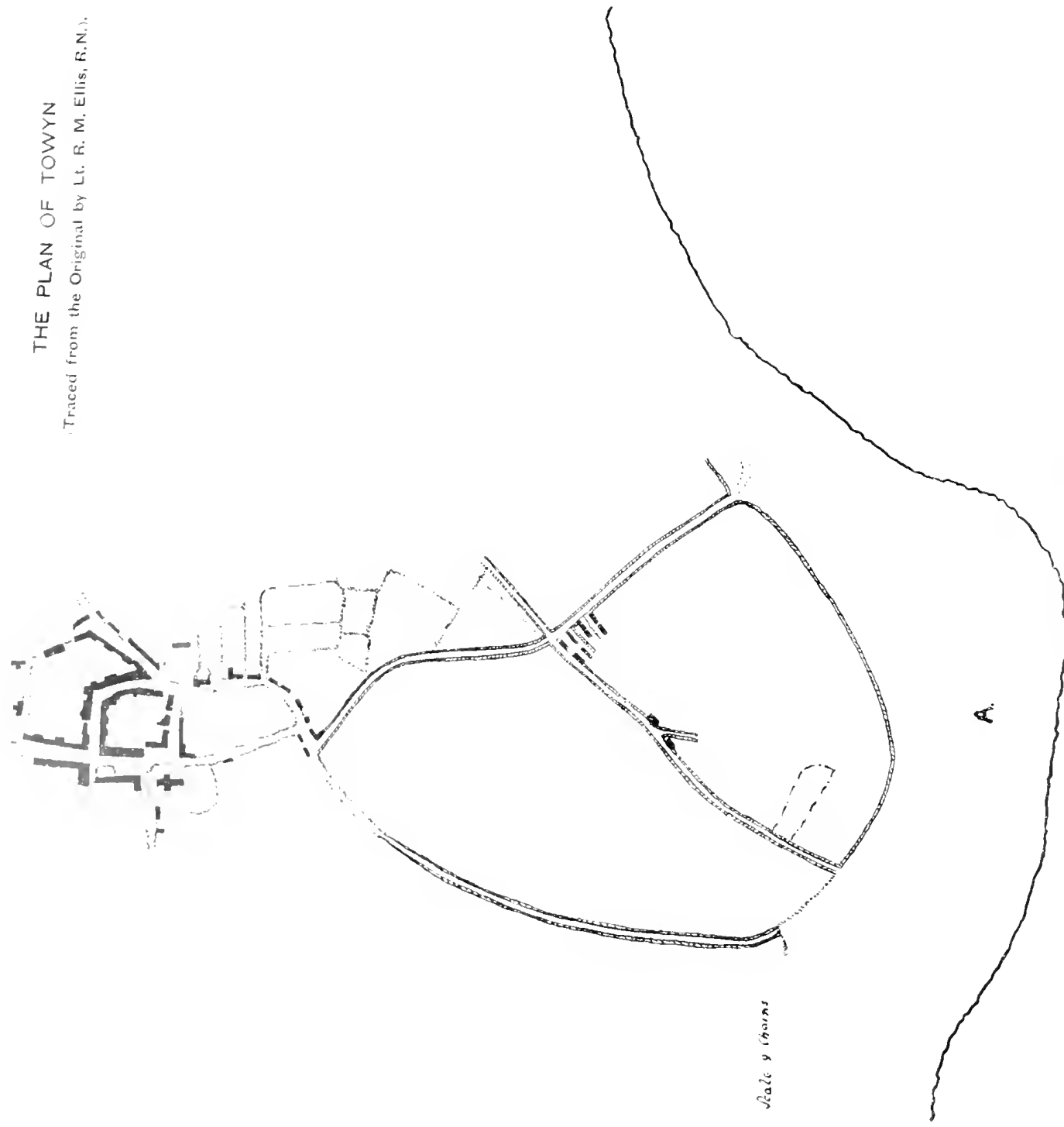
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# THE PLAN OF TOWYN

Traced from the Original by Lt. R. M. Ellis, R.N.



Scale 9 chains

The fields shown in dotted lines to east of the town are the "common" field, in which quilllets still existed in 1741. A road runs from the town across the sea.

To face p. 3.

of special value as showing the state of the towns 130 years ago.

It is of considerable interest to note that the various fields of each farm appear to be fenced. This is of importance, because it is generally believed that the stone fences of Merioneth came into existence with the Enclosure Acts of 1806 to 1811. We have, however, indisputable evidence that, in so far as the farm-holdings were concerned, enclosure had already been effected to a considerable extent. In fact the archives point to the conclusion that enclosures commenced in the reign of Elizabeth, and continued uninterruptedly until completed by the Enclosure Acts.

An interesting fact is the occasional appearance of the term " quillet ". The word appears as applied to two plots on the Vaner farm, one measuring 2 roods 19 poles, and the other 18 poles. It also occurs in Llanelltyd, where the meadow Dol Goch is shown as containing half a quillet, area 2 acres 38 poles, assigned to Pant Lwyfog Farm, and a similar half quillet to Cae Coch. Cae Coch is also shown as having one quillet, area 3 roods 30 poles. The farm of Henblas, near Towyn, contains half a quillet, area 3 roods 12 poles; in Towyn four quillets near the church appear, with areas respectively 1 rood 16 poles, 1 acre 1 rood, 1 rood 19 poles, and 3 roods; and the farm of Bodgadfan, near Towyn, has one quillet, area 3 roods 32 poles.

It is somewhat surprising to find these traces of common cultivation in Llanelltyd, which was always a " free " village; but, judging from the several localities, it seems probable that all the fields were, at one time or another, ecclesiastical property.

It may be noted that the term is very rarely to be found either in Merioneth, Montgomery or Carnarvon,

and this, in so far as it goes, tends to corroborate the view that I have ventured to take in my recent book on "Welsh Tribal Law and Custom", that the regulations as to co-tillage in the ancient Laws were regulations governing customary contracts, rather than a system of communal cultivation.

I have found the term "quillet" applied in 1726 to what is called the "town-field" at Meifod and in Cilfach Uche. Also in the township of Peniarth (Mont.) in 1741, and in Ystumcolwyn in 1789, but hitherto nowhere else.

Pentre Farm near Cymmer Abbey has a few names suggestive of connection with the Abbey. Cae odin issa and Cae odin ucha indicate, perhaps, the parching kilns of the old house; Erw Sain has certainly something to do with the Abbey, and Cae Ceffyle suggests the bivouac for horses of guests at the Abbey. There is a similarly named field near the church at Llanegryn, which was a dependant church of Cymmer.

In Vaner Farm the old Abbey graveyard is indicated by the name Cae Fynwent. Adjoining the Llanelltyd bridge is a small field known as Cae Llong. At the present time, this field, sunk considerably below the level of the adjacent fields, is swampy and full of iris-flags. It presents the appearance of having been excavated; and this suggests the probability that it was a kind of dock, where ships coming up from Barmouth were tied during unloading.

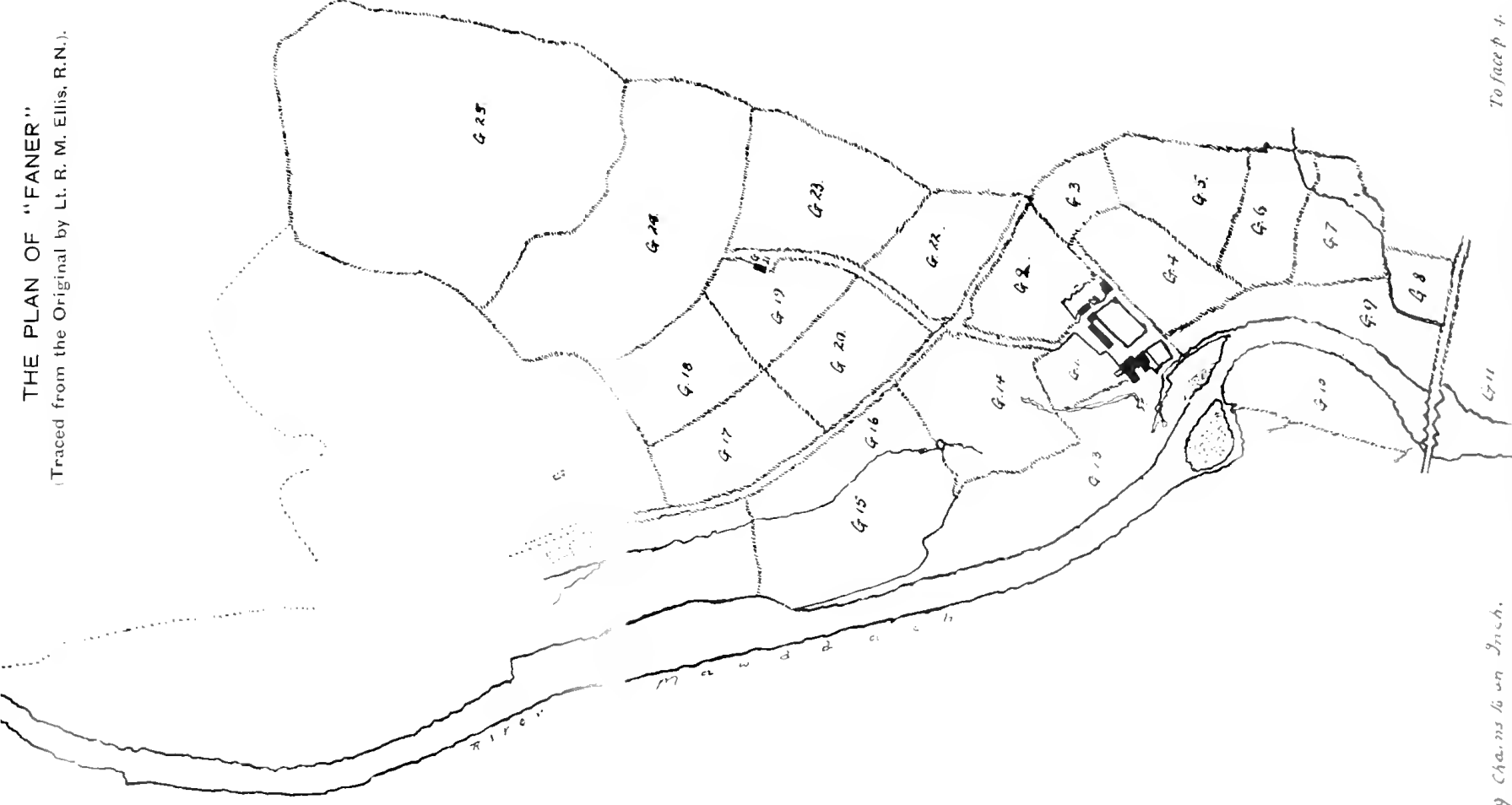
On each side of the river, close to the bridge, are meadows called Cae Stabal; the word "stabal" probably being a derivative of "staple" and not of "stable", indicating thereby the site of the warehouses where, of old, the bales of wool were collected for shipment.

The name "Marian Râd"—the strand of grace—applied to one field near the river edge, suggests it was



# THE PLAN OF "FANER"

(Traced from the Original by Lt. R. M. Ellis, R.N.).



Scale 9 Chains to an Inch.

To face p. 4.

This plan forms roughly the area of the old Abbey precincts. G 25, Cae March; G 22, Cae Clochnant; G 15, Dol Suesonateg; G 2, Cae Fynwent; G 8, Cae Llong; G 9 and G 10, Dol Stachel; G 11, Marian Rad. Other numbers immaterial.

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the landing place, on the Abbey side, of the old ford. Near it is a field bearing the unusual name of Dol Saesonaeg. There is nothing in local tradition to indicate the origin of the name, but possibly it was the site allocated for the camps of English travellers. The Abbey itself was, of course, erected close to the Mawddach ford, and lay on the high road between Welshpool and Harlech, a convenient resting-place for passers-by.

The name of the farm Dol y Clochdydd, in connection with which there is a well-known fairy story, recalls the fact that it was held of the Abbey in return for the duty of ringing the Angelus.

The last peculiar name is "Cae Potatoes", a name which is found on quite a number of farms on the two estates. It is possibly not a permanent name, but a name descriptive of the crop actually grown in 1794 on the particular fields. If so, the cultivation of potatoes was quite common in the land at the time.

The name "garnedd" and combinations of it and "cerrig" are very common; but it is impossible to assume that the names indicate ancient monumental cairns, as the word is frequently applied to natural outcrops of rock.

The Nannau demesne of some 630 acres contains some peculiar names—Cae Garth Bleiddyn, which goes back to a time when wolves were common in the land; Coed Moch, a survival of the old pannage system; Ffrydd Cymmorth, which speaks for itself, and Maes y Myrddyn. Near Nannau there is a "Garth Bleiddyn", but it is a matter of conjecture only whether the name is derived from Bleiddyn ap Cynfyn, the father of Cadwgan, who founded Nannau, or a later scion of the family bearing the same name.

The word "croes" is not uncommon, and in Tyddyn

Arthur there are four fields with the word in their nomenclature ; possibly the site of an Abbey grange. At Drws-y-nant there is a field called “ Y Groglith ”, but whether the name is derived from an ancient “ Calvary ” or not it is difficult to say. One of the farms on the Hengwrt estate is called Bryn y Prydydd, but I have been unable to identify the poet who is thus commemorated. In the farm of Carreg y Garth, which abuts on the old hospice of Gwanas (itself on the Caerynwch estate), there is a “ cae gerddi ”, probably the site of the old hospital gardens. Adjoining Tir Stent, itself a famous enough area, is a farm Bryn y Castell, with a rock called Craig y Castell, but there is no record of any “ castell ” in the immediate locality. Bodgadfan, near Towyn, has a Buardd y Dyon, an echo of the Norse invasion of the tenth century.

A peculiar name in Bryn y Clogwyn (Dinas Mawddwy) is Ysgâr Humphrey ; peculiar because the word “ ysgâr ” was not commonly used for a share obtained either by partition or by courtesy. The old Welsh word for such a share was “ cynnwys ”—applied specially to the courtesy share of an illegitimate son,—and it would be of great interest to know of any other like uses of the word “ ysgâr ”. Ysgar in old Welsh is limited to the sense of the dissolution of marriage, whether brought about by death or agreement to separate. Its later sense is of course “ divorce ”.

The general nomenclature is similar to that prevailing in the rest of North-West Wales ; but the presence of “ Cae Dentir ” and “ Cae gwndwn ” is more marked than is the case elsewhere. Poetic names are very common ; but it suffices to mention Erw Delyn, Cae Crwth and Cae yr Hedydd. The word “ pandy ” is frequent ; but it is only in Brithdir that it is specifically stated that fulling-

mills were at work in 1794. There was, however, a fulling mill at Dolgelley in 1710 and another at Blaen y Traenellt in 1740.

## II. THE NAME DOLGELLEY.

I am satisfied that Dolgelley was founded in the eleventh century as a serf village. The evidence may be discussed at some later time. Amongst Welsh people there is a tendency to spell the name "Dolgellau". The habit seems to have arisen in the nineteenth century only. It seems to be due to a false derivation. At any rate all the historical evidence is strongly against that form of spelling.

The church is mentioned in the Norwich Taxatio of 1253 A.D.—that, I think, is the earliest documentary evidence of the place; but I have not had an opportunity of checking my note as to the form of spelling used in that document. In the Extent of 1285 (the date is dubious, and may be as late as 1310) the ville is clearly spelt "Dolgethley"; and if we remember that Norman and English scribes, in those days, invariably represented the sound "ll" by "thl", this ancient form corresponds with the common modern usage. Owen Glyndwr's spelling "Dolguelli" is well known.

Among the 4,000 odd Nannau-Hengwrt deeds I have hitherto seen there are many documents of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries dealing with Dolgelley. The very oldest (4 Eliz.) spells the name "Dolgelley"; there are several others of the same reign with the same spelling, and one with the form "Dolgelle". With the exception of this one instance, every document of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that I have seen uses "Dolgelley".

In 1700 I find a "Dolegelle", also in 1749. The form

“Dolgelly” occurs in 1734 and 1816, but, on the other hand, every other document of the eighteenth and nineteenth century uses the form now in use. Pennant, of course, spells it “Dolgellen”. The account book of Sir Robert Vaughan, dated 1836, is the first instance I have seen of the use of the form “Dolgellau”.

The word “gelli” is a common name in Merioneth for a farm or field situated in a sheltered nook. The town of Dolgelley takes its name from an adjoining meadow, which probably means the “meadow in the sheltered place”. The present spelling has long usage behind it, and if a new spelling be desirable it should be “Dolgelli”, not “Dolgellau”, which has nothing apparently to recommend it.

### III. SEATS IN CHURCH.

In the deeds of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it is common to find that the conveyance of a farm carries with it the right to a particular seat in the parish church. In the eighteenth century this frequently resulted in disputes of a violent character turning on the question of precedence.

Tradition relates one such incident connected with Dolgelley church, when the family of Baron Owen disputed the claim of the Nannau family to precedence for their pew. The former faction broke into the church and hacked the Nannau pew to bits with axes, and when the Nannau contingent arrived for service, they found their opponents in full possession of the wreckage, prepared to dispute possession with sword and hatchet.

A very interesting record of a similar dispute in the church of Meifod (Montgomery) exists in the Nannau-Hengwrt records. The Meifod estates came to the Vaughan family by marriage. The record is worth reproducing in full and runs thus :—

“Memorandum that on Sunday the 15th August 1725 William Pugh, servt to Madam Meryell Wms was violently thrust out of a Seat generally us'd and appropriated to the sd Mrs. Meryell Wms & the said Wm Pugh had also his shirt & Coat tore by the servt of Mrs Mitton on turning him out and Jon Martin another Servt of the sd Mrs Wms coming into the sd seat was also assaulted by the sd servt of Mrs Mitton who endeavor'd to rush him out of the sd seat but laying fast hold thereon part of the seat was broken by the violence of Mrs Mittons servt in endeavoring to remove the sd Jon Martin there hence, the Curate then directed the Churchwardens to observe the disturbance wch ceased when they appeared.

Memorandum that on Sunday the 22nd of August 1725, John Martin & John Davies servants to Madam Meryell Williams where thrust & abused in the same seat by the servants of Mrs Mitton being a seat generally us'd & appropriated to the sd Madam Williams this being the Sunday that Sir Watkins Williams Wynn was in the sd church.

Memorandum that on Sunday the 17th October John Martin a servant of Madam Williams had his shin broken by the violence of Mrs Mitton servants endeavoring to thrust him out of the same seat abovementioned.

Memorandum that on Sunday the 24th October Robert a servant of John Jones being put into the seat above mentioned by Madam Williams was thrust & abused by the servants of the sd Mrs Mitton which caused great disturbance in the said church whereof the parson & curatte of the sd church on hearing the buzell came their seeing the violences of Mrs Mittons servants ordered the churchwardens to put their names down.

The family paid considerable importance to this right to a seat, for they preserved carefully a document of 1636, under which Commissioners allotted seats in the church to different tenements. Among the Nannau papers there is also a list, dated 1610, of documents then in possession of Griffith Nanney, and the list mentions “a license from the Bishop of Bangor to erect a seate in Dolgelley church”. (Note here, also, the ecclesiastical form of spelling Dolgelley.)

## IV. A HENGWRT INVENTORY OF 1696.

This is an inventory of the movable property of which Hugh Vaughan deceased of Hengwrt died possessed of. It is of considerable interest as showing the occupations of a large landed proprietor of the period, the prices prevailing, and the type of furniture to be found in a Welsh country residence at the time. The latter, it may be stated, is in sharp contrast with what prevailed within half a century after; and the indications are that the beginnings of the eighteenth century showed a very rapid progress in the "standard of comfort".

I divide the inventory into "stock" and "furnishings".

## (a) Stock.

	£	s.	d.
4 yoke oxen 5-10 year old	28	0	0
(Interesting also as showing that plough-cattle were still used.)			
26 cows in calf	45	0	0
2 farrow cows	2	0	0
3 four-year old heifers in calf	7	10	0
12 3 to 4-year old steers	30	0	0
13 yearlings	7	10	0
19 wethers	2	17	0
60 ewes	12	0	0
41 two-year old sheep	7	3	6
30 yearling ditto	4	10	0
6 rams	15	0	
5 goats	5	0	
168 wethers & rams	42	4	0
308 ewes	77	0	0
60 yearling sheep	(unpriced)		
141 two-year old sheep	31	14	6
260 lambs	45	10	0
1 bull & 31 cows in calf	72	0	0
5 four-year old heifers	10	0	0
7 three-year old ditto	12	5	0
11 two-year old ditto	14	7	0
6 two-year old steers	7	4	0
2 three-year old steers	3	0	0



19 yearlings	9 10 0
2 horses, 2 mares, 2 colts, & 1 three-year old filly	9 0 0
1 sow	4 0
27 goats	2 14 0
17 kids	1 15 6
5 swine, besides smalls pigs	1 5 0
11 turkeys & 11 geese	(unpriced)
45 measures oatmeal and 11 measures kitchen oatmeal	6 7 6
54 measures rye	4 0 0
220 measures malt	2 15 0
100 cheeses	11 15 0
120 measures oats	6 0 0
2 pails butter (6 quarts)	17 6
149 cheeses	20 5 0
45 qts butter	3 7 6
62 Winchester measures oatmeal	7 15 0
360 lbs. wool @ 2/- per lb.	36 0 0
68 lbs. yarn @ 2/- per lb.	8 10 0
26 lbs. wool for yarn	3 5 0
All the implements for husbandry	3 0 0
Rye & wheat in the ground	5 0 0

The great difference between stock and dairy-farming on the one hand and cultivation on the other is marked. The comparative unimportance of wheat-growing is also noteworthy.

(b) Furniture.

In the great hall. 1 cupboard, 1 chest, 2 forms, 2 carpets, 2 beams, scales & 100 lbs lead weights, barrels for oatmeal & butter.—£3 10s. (Note.—The great hall was the main living room, and the presence of the weights and scales therein is illuminating.)

In the parlour. 1 flock bed, bolster, 2 blankets, coverlid, bed spread & form.—10s.

In bedroom. 1 bedstead, curtains, valence, tester, 3 feather beds, 4 bolsters, 1 pillow, 2 white rugs, 5 blankets, 1 coverlid, 1 rug.—£4.

In bedroom over hall. 1 big tub, 5 pails, 1 chest, 1 stool, 1 feather-bed, 1 pillow, 2 blankets, 1 rug.—£1 15s.

In buttery. 3 tubs, 1 table.—12s.

In cellar. 4 hogsheads, 3 barrels, 2 firkins, 1 large tub, 7 small tubs, 1 chess.—£1 12s.

In further buttery. 1 cupboard & shelves.—5s.

In dairy. 9 wooden vessels.—5s.

In bedroom over dairy. 1 bedstead, 1 trestle bedstead, 1 chest, 1 cupboard, 1 feather-bed, 1 pillow, 1 bolster, 3 blankets.—£2 15s.

In guest-chamber. 2 flock-beds, 3 blankets, 1 coverlid, 2 bedsteads.—10s.

In bedroom over kitchen. 2 bedsteads, 1 chest, 1 round table, 1 feather-bed, 1 bolster, curtains, valence, 1 flock-bed, 3 blankets, 1 coverlid.—£1 16s.

In kitchen. 1 fowling piece, 1 table, 3 forms, 2 trestles, 1 chest, 3 brand-irons, 3 spits, 3 bakestones, 1 large chest, 4 brass pots, 13 brass pans, 3 iron pots, 1 brass pestle & mortar, 8 pewter dishes, 6 pewter plates, 1 pewter flagon, 1 pewter tankard, 5 pewter porringers, 1 pewter quart, 6 fitches bacon, 3 cakes tallow.—£5 12s. 6d. 8 pairs fine sheets, 6 prs coarse sheets, 4 doz napkins, 3 cupboard cloths, 4 towels, 6 table cloths, 4 pillow cases.—£5 17s.

In servants' room.—9 blankets & 3 rugs, value £1 4s.

In malt-room. 1 chest.—10s.

In barn: 3 chests.—£1 10s.

In wool-room. 2 chests.—£1.

In stable & stable-room. 2 chests.—£1.

Odds & ends. 14 blankets (£1), 5 rugs (£1), 3 sheets (5/-), 1 flock bed: bedstead (6/-), 4 brass pans (£1 10s.), 2 iron kettles (8/-), pipkins, stands, covers, buckets (6/-), 1 chest (8s.).

Many of the cattle were grazed in Pennantlliw, near Bala, but the whole stock was included in the Hengwrt inventory.

#### V. HENGWRT ACCOUNTS, 1720-2.

With the preceding a few extracts from a note book of accounts of 1720-2 may be compared.

The cattle at Hengwrt in June, 1721, is detailed thus :—

“Cowes 21; heiffers 4 year old 2; come to ye fold with the year calves 8; 4 year old heiffer 1; 3 ditto 4; 3 year old bullock 6; yearlinge calves 10; oxen that was last year 7; my son bought May 1721 2; a sow & six piggs 7; large hoggs 3: a small one

sent to the town mill 1; at home of same 2; sheared at Hengwrt of all sorts 78; lambs at Hengwrt 6; kid lamb 1; Praselude sheared 138; lambs sent their 63".

A few details of prices are given, especially in two extracts regarding the Llanelltyd and Llanfachreth tithes, which run :—

1720.—The tythes of Laneltide & Lanvachreth to Will Thomas wife excluding the tyth geese tyth piggs tythe eggs & honny & hundred measures of oatmeal at 3d mesr £80/-.

1721.—The tythes of Laneltide & Lanvach sent to Kath Elis excluding the curates salary tyth geese tyth eggs tyth honny £90/- & a hundred measure of oatmeal at 3d per measure £18/-.

The curate's salary, it may be noted, was £10 per annum, or roughly a tithe of the tithes. Forty measures of barley appear as sold at £6, 32 at £4 13s., a couple of "fatt cowes" at £8, a lamb 1s., 16 sheep at 7s. 6d., 2 cwt. of hay at 3s. 6d., a bullock at £8 8s. A few miscellaneous quotations are 1 lb. pepper at 1s. 6d., a fine pair of woollen stockings at 1s. 2d., six coloured handkerchiefs at 3s. 11d., and a pair of shoes at 2s. In 1723 John Bridge was paid £1 7s. for "halfe wainscoteing the parlour, he & his man 3 weeks & some odd days". The heavily burdened employer of servants to-day may turn with a sigh to the servants' wage-bill of 1721, when Hugh Owens (the valet-butler) received a stipend of £4 per annum, Anthony (whose duties are not very apparent) £2 5s., Betty's sister (the cook) £1 15s., and Kathrin (the general maid-servant) £1 15s.

This Hugh Owens seems to have been transferred to the service of Lord Scarborough, for among the archives is an interesting note-book of his while in service in London in 1730. He was then receiving board wages of 1s. per day, out of which he paid 6d. daily for lodgings, and lived on the balance. He lived mainly on beef and mutton at 3d. per lb., and on frequent draughts of brandy.

## VI. MEILLIONYDD ACCOUNTS, 1719 ON.

The accounts of the Meillionydd estates, which came to Nannau through marriage, are preserved at the beginning of the 18th century in a series of note-books. They contain, in 1723, a list of furniture, of very much the same type as Hengwrt, with the addition of a few pictures. The most important possessions consist, however, of linen, saddlery, tools, utensils and stacks of wood. In the same year I find the first mention of a stock of coal, to the extent of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  tons, but this may possibly be charcoal.

The contents of the cellar are worth quoting, for it is fairly typical of the stocks held by Welsh country gentlemen of the time. Mr. Arthur Williams was a well-known character of the day, and was one of the Deputy Lieutenants of Carnarvon.

The contents were : 1 large double pipe beer, 3 large hogsheads beer, 7 half-barrels beer, 3 large earthen bottles cider, 1 ditto mead, and numberless empties. There was a considerable consumption of brandy, which was procurable (from smugglers) at 2s. per bottle.

These preceding lists might be compared with interest with the inventory of the goods of a deceased peasant's stock of the year 1673, which has found its way into the archives. The peasant, David Jenkin by name, died possessed of 2 kine worth £2 10s., 1 mare and colt worth £1, a stack of corn worth £1, 1 chest and "other lumber" worth 10s., and three sheep worth 6s.

The enormous progress made, in the ensuing century, in the standard of comfort is illustrated by an inventory of furniture at Nannau in February, 1768. The list is very long, and is of a character which might very easily represent the possessions of a well to do house of the present day. We are so often accustomed to be told that the eighteenth century was a dark period in Welsh his-

tory ; but these contemporary records show, beyond any question, that there was a very considerable advance in the comforts of life.

#### VII. IMPRESSMENT ORDERS.

The Nannau archives contain a few impressment orders. They are of interest as showing that even Merioneth was thoroughly "combed" in time of need for naval service.

I reproduce here an order of 1738 :—

"After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship.

Whereas His Majesty's service doth at this time require a speedy supply of able seamen & seafaring men for completing the number of those who are wanting to mann His Majesty's Fleet which is now fitting out, We do therefore by His Majesty's Council hereby pray and require your Lordship & your Deputy Lieutenants to cause diligent search and enquiry to be made within your Lieutenancy for all straggling seamen and to secure all such as may be found fit for His Majesty's service that so the Justices of the Peace may cause them to be conveyed to the several ports according to Directions sent to them for that purpose and you are to transmit to the Office of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty Lists of the names of such seafaring Men as shall from time to time be taken up, expressing therein the time when, Place where, to whose care delivered and to what place they were to be conducted. And so not doubting of Your Lordship Zeal and Vigour in the performance of this Service, We bid Your Lordship very heartily farewell, From the Council Chamber at Kensington the 31st day July 1738.

Your Lordship's very loving Friends

Hardwicke C.  
Wilmington P.  
Godolphin C. P. S.  
Abercorn.  
W. E. A. Yonge.  
Hay.

To our very good Lord George,  
Earl of Cholmondeley, Lord  
Lieutenant of the County of  
Merioneth".

The signatures are autograph.

A similar impressment order of June, 1739, including the signature of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and another of 1692, which provides for the conveyance of the men to Hull, are in the archives.

#### VIII. LANDS OF CYMMER ABBEY.

The exact course of devolution of the lands of Cymmer Abbey at the time of the Dissolution is somewhat difficult to follow, and a considerable amount of misapprehension exists on the subject.

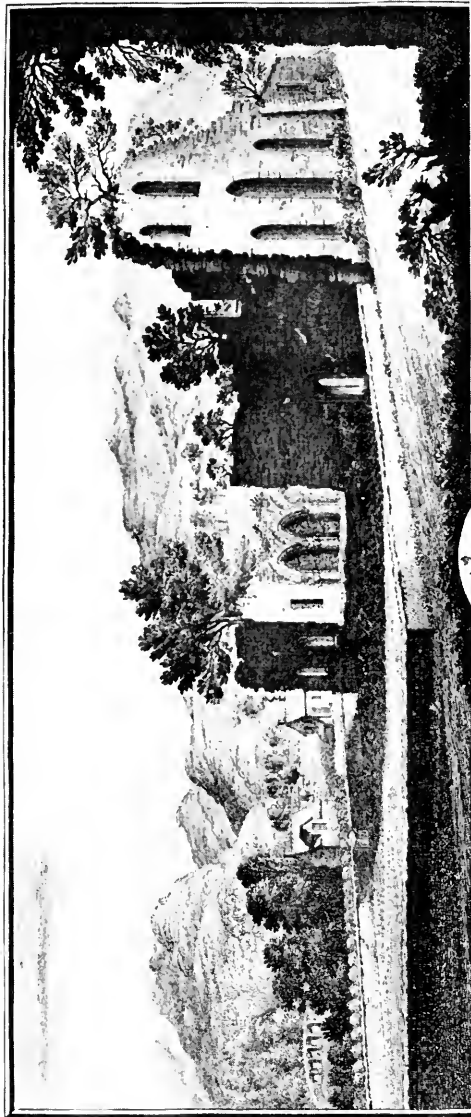
It is commonly believed that the King granted monastic lands to local magnates in order to secure their adherence to his new policy, and it is assumed that in this way the Cymmer lands, now mainly held by the Nannau family, came into its possession.

This impression, in so far as Cymmer is concerned, is quite inaccurate. The existing documents show, fairly thoroughly, the course of events. I must here, however, confine myself to a few illustrations.

There seems to have been practically no alienation of land by the Abbot of Cymmer before dissolution. The archives are singularly deficient in documents of the Abbey period. There is a bond, temp. Henry VII, by Gruffydd Lloyd favouring the Steward of the Abbot of Cymmer, interesting as showing that the management of the estates was in the hands of a steward.

The only other deed of Abbey days is a lease of 21 Henry VIII, under which Cae Rhydymain was leased to one Lleuci vz Ienna by Ludovicus, Abbot of Cymmer. Ludovicus or Lewis was the last Abbot, and, after the Dissolution, became a Suffragan Bishop of St. Asaph. The document is of interest also as it has the seal of the Abbey attached, but unfortunately it has left practically no impression on the wax.

THE SOUTH EAST VIEW OF CUMNER ABBY, IN THE COUNTY OF MERIONETH.



At this place, the great and famous Cymmer Abbey, was situated, which was destroyed by the English in the year 1284. The ruins of this Abbey are now in a state of great decay, and the only remaining part of it is the tower, which is still standing. The tower is a square building, with a flat roof, and is surrounded by a wall. The ruins of the Abbey are situated on a grassy slope, and are surrounded by trees and shrubs. The view of the ruins is a fine one, and is well worth a visit. The ruins of the Abbey are a fine example of the architecture of the 13th century, and are well worth a visit. The ruins of the Abbey are a fine example of the architecture of the 13th century, and are well worth a visit.

To Robert Vaughan Esq.  
This Prospect is humbly presented by  
( ) his most Obedient Servant,  
Nathaniel Buck.

The Ruins of Cymmer Abbey, near Dolgelley.  
To face p. 16.  
(From an engraving in the National Museum of Wales by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1742.)





The general course of devolution of the Abbey lands seems to have been that of forfeiture to the Crown, followed by leases or grants by the Crown. It is known that many of the estates were granted by Elizabeth to Robert, Earl of Leicester, and, on his death, they were resumed in part by the Crown. Another grantee was John Powis or Powys, father of Edward Powis, but the principal beneficiary was one Robert Multon, an Auditor of the Exchequer. He seems, in his official capacity, to have appropriated to his own use, no doubt under an official grant, the whole of the Abbey lands in Llanfachreth. As early as 1564 he leased some of them to one David ap Robert. In 1578 we find Robert Multon still in possession, and in 1582 his son, Thomas Multon, released all claims he had upon Abbey lands in favour of his mother. She, soon after, sold the whole property to one John Hill, and the latter, in 1584, conveyed his interests to one Edward Price for the sum of £500. The same year Edward Price sold the property to Hugh Nanney, from which time on the land has been in possession of the owners of Nannau.

We have, in this instance, a very clear account of purchase of some of the most important of the Cymmer estates.

Another interesting deed is a lease of the time of Edward VI of the farm of Dolyclochydd and of the fishing rights of Cymmer Abbey in the Pentre watercourse. These properties were leased by the Crown grantee, Edward Powis, to Griffith Vaughan, who lived, I believe, at the time in Dolymelynlyn, and who was the ancestor of the Vaughans, who eventually inter-married with the Nanneys, and combined the properties of Hengwrt and Nannau.

The farm of Tyddyn y Wenallt seems to have been

also granted by the Crown to John Powis. At any rate, he sold it to one Hugh Nanney, and he, in 1585, transferred it to one William Vaughan.

There is a bundle of deeds of the time of Edward VI and Elizabeth, relative to the important property of Garth Bleddyn. It is recited in them that the property formerly formed part of the Abbey estates, and that it was sold by "Jon Lewis, by the sufferance of God late Abbot of the monastery and late suppressed house of Cymmer" to one Hoel ap Ednyfed. The latter conveyed the property, in Edward's reign, to one Idwal ap Hoel. Through him apparently the property came to the Nanneys.

These facts are only fragmentary, but they show, fairly conclusively, that local landowners in Merioneth were not grantees of Abbey land. They appear to have purchased such lands from the grantees at the prevailing market rate.

#### IX. SERVILE TENURES IN DOLGELLEY.

There seems very little doubt that Dolgelley was founded as an unfree or serf village by Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, who settled at Nannau in the end of the eleventh century. It is well known that Cadwgan sub-infeudated his local possessions to Uchtryd ap Edwin, who erected a fort of the motte and bailey type near Cymmer, from which he was evicted by Cadwgan's son Einion about 1116. On Einion's death in 1123, Gruffydd ap Cynan sent his sons Cadwaladr and Owain Gwynedd into Merioneth and annexed the territory to Gwynedd. In this way Dolgelley passed into the hands of the northern Prince, and became a "King's maerdref". At the annexation in 1284, it passed, with other princely possessions, to the Crown, and eventually formed part of the land subject to the Vicecomes of Merioneth.

Directly after, Merioneth was surveyed and extended, under the superintendence of John of Havering and a monk, named Richard, from the great Berkshire house of Abingdon. The exact date is not quite clear. John of Havering was a Constable of Carnarvon, and my notes show he was twice appointed, in 1284-5 and in 1310. The survey was completed some time between those dates. In the Record Office the survey is credited under Roll 789 to the reign of Edward I, that is before 1307 A.D., and I am inclined to regard the document as dating from about 1285.

We get a fairly clear account of Dolgelley in it; but it is to some extent mixed up with Talybont, the old maerdref of the last Llywelyn near Llanegryn, and it is difficult to be certain whether certain entries relate to Dolgelley or Talybont. Excluding these uncertain entries, we find that the "villains" of Dolgelley paid 30s. annually "for the issue of their cattle" (the usual rate was one-third or one-half of the calves born in a year), and 8d. for carriage or portorage, which was an exclusively servile render. Reference is also made to 7s. 4d. payable on account of ten farms on the said villains of Dolgelley for their (harvest) works, 14s. ditto for 10 crannocs of wheat (as maerdref produce), and 6s. 8d. on account of the issue of their cattle.

The question of the "farms" is a difficult one; but I am inclined to the belief that some of the King's dues were farmed to local contractors, including Nannau, for otherwise the fact that Dolgelley ceased to be a royal maerdref and became the property of Nannau to a large extent is difficult to explain. However, it is quite clear that Dolgelley was a servile ville, and it is somewhat peculiar to find that among the villains were nine "strangers" (Englishmen or Irishmen), each of whom

ploughed, harrowed and sowed one bovat of land, and were also liable to portorage. These facts place Dolgelley in early times at the bottom of the social scale in Welsh economic life. It was a ville with a racially mixed population. The strangers were serf cultivators entirely, the native population were cattle-breeders and liable, in part, to servile dues.

The next survey of Merioneth is that contained in the Record of Carnarvon. It is traditionally ascribed to the late fifteenth century. I have considerable hesitation in accepting that date without closer examination. The Extent, notwithstanding its fragmentary character, shows that the tribal structure was still in full control. It is difficult to reconcile this fact, if the document be of the late fifteenth century, with the extraordinary prevalence in the Nannau-Hengwrt archives of innumerable transfers by deed, in the reign of Henry VI, by individual transferors. There are at least 40 to 50 such documents, which indicate a considerable number of individual proprietary estates at the time, which hardly find expression in the Extent, save in the neighbourhood of Rhyderiw.

The Extent bears the character of having been prepared immediately after some great devastation, whether of plague or war it is hard to decide. That may indicate a fourteenth century origin, or an origin immediately succeeding Glyndwr's rising. Possibly the latter, for the fragmentary entries in the Extent indicate the loss of previous records, and it is well known that part of Glyndwr's scheme of operations was to destroy land-records, which contained evidence of burdensome dues leviable on the people. However that may be, Dolgelley is not extended in this second Extent. There is, however, a much later addition to the Extent, in which it is said that the "terra dominicalis" of Dolgelley is contained in the

Rolls of leased lands under date 1576. We gather, therefore, that as late as the sixteenth century Dolgelley was still an unfree ville.

The Tudors undoubtedly tried to abolish servile dues in the unfree villes of Wales as a part of their general land policy; but it is interesting to find that, notwithstanding this, many instances survived to a late date of servile dues being attached to leases under a contractual bond. I have found quite a number of such instances in the Nannau-Hengwrt archives, and I give some of them relating to Dolgelley and one or two relating to other places.

The first I have a note of is dated 1682 and relates to Cefn Llyfno in Montgomery. In that year in consideration of £6 one Thomas Evans was discharged "of and from all and all manner of . . . demands for toureing and conwening". This appears to refer to past liability for portorage and boon-works.

In Arthur Williams' note-book of Meillionydd (Carnarvon), dated 1719, there is a list of "duties or cash in lieu thereof", and the list shows a number of survivals of chicken-rents, pullet-rents, corn-rents, etc., six chickens being shown as the equivalent of three pullets or 1s.

In 1768 the Angel Inn, Dolgelley, was leased, and one of the conditions of tenancy was the liability to supply workmen during harvest time.

In 1668 Hywel Vaughan of Vaner leased a tenement in Dolgelley to one Thomas Grigg. Among the conditions Thomas Grigg bound himself to mow hay for two days in the year, to cut turf for one day, and to supply two hens at Shrovetide.

In 1670 Hugh Nanney of Nannau leased a tenement in Dolgelley to one Rhys ap Evan, who bound himself to

eight days "averagia" in the year, and to mill the whole of his corn at the lessor's mill.

The rent-roll of the Hengwrt estate of the year 1718 shows that all the farms on the estate were leased on cash-rents, but in regard to Dolgelley town it is noted that "the Town is Oblidge to give 15 days harvest £3".

In 1738 a lease was granted of Sarney, Meifod, and of the lime works at Porth y waen, and part of the rental was "a fat goose" annually.

The account book of Edward Williams, Meifod, of the years 1726-7 shows that six tenants in Sarnog, Cefn Llyfno and Derwen Deg paid 24 pullets and eight geese, worth £1, that a tenant in Maen township paid as rent two pullets and worked for two days during harvest, and in Maes Colwyn that fields were leased in kind.

The lease of Ty'n y fron, Dolgelley, dated 1726, by Robert Vaughan to Robert Williams provides inter alia for a heriot of 6s. 8d. on the death of every principal tenant (far and away the latest instance I have found of this in Dolgelley), two fat hens or pullets at Shrovetide or 1s. 6d., and three days' labour at harvest time or 3s.

I have, unfortunately, mislaid a note of the Hengwrt-Nannau rent-rolls of the beginning of the nineteenth century, which prevents me quoting the exact year; but the details are given therein of every tenement on the estate. In all instances, save one, rental is shown as cash. The exception is the payment by one farm of 40 bushels of oats.

These scattered fragments show that rents in kind and several servile dues continued to be paid as late as the eighteenth century in villages of "unfree" origin. Their disappearance altogether seems to have been the work of the famous Sir Robert, the second baronet.

A somewhat peculiar condition of tenancy occurs in a decided case of the year 1852, the case of *Roberts v. Vaughan*. The tenancy provided that all hay and straw was to be consumed on the farm premises, a condition which was not uncommon elsewhere, but, in addition, it was provided that the full annual rent was to be paid half way through the year. There was no dispute in regard to the point, but the judge commented on the unusual nature of the term. It seems, however, to have been exceptional, though the judge apparently was led to understand that it was a common term in Merioneth. I have, however, not come across a like instance.

While on these survivals of ancient dues, reference might be made to the survival of a "free" render of 1686, which comes from Ystumcolwyn (Montgomery). In that year, Mrs. Meryell Williams leased to her nephew, Lumley Williams, a farm, water-mill, etc., to enure for the life of the lessor. The lessee bound himself, *inter alia*, to "send forth for the use & service of the King in the militia of the county of Montgomery, a sufficient & able horse & ryder, well fitted & prepared to serve in the Militia of the said County . . . as required & charged from & on the said demised premises". I have failed to find another instance of so late a survival of compulsory military service, which was, of course, an incident of all free tenure in Wales down to the fourteenth century.

Mention might also be made here of the turbary rights of Dolgelley tenants. References thereto are not uncommon in leases in Dolgelley town, but it will suffice to mention three instances.

The first, an eighteenth century lease, whose exact date is indecipherable, is a lease for 99 years of a tenement in Dolgelley by William Vaughan to Mary Humphreys.

The lease carried the right to dig in the turbary of Morfa y Wialen for one day annually, the right being limited to the work of one man.

In 1713 Anne Nanney leased a house in Dolgelley to one John William, with the right to cut turf in the Garthmaelan turbary for one day in the year, and in 1768 the lessee of the Angel Inn, Dolgelley, was confirmed in the right to cut turf in Morfa Wialen.

The Garthmaelan turbary seems to have been the common turbary for the town, and at a later period friction arose with the Rector, who contested the claim of the town tenants to a right of way over a field of his for the purpose of bringing in their turves. The Rector, in those days, lived at Garthmaelan.

Finally, in connection with these ancient dues and rights, mention may be made of a very interesting record of a "cymorth" paid in the year 1733. It seems to have been voluntary, and was presented to Nannau on the occasion of the birth of an heir. The gifts included two wethers, one wether, one quarter pork, another quarter pork, 12 cakes, 24 eggs and a quart of honey, one load of wheat, 100 red herrings and a strike of turnips and carrots, four capons and two turkeys. A side-light is also thrown on the smuggling propensities of Barmouth and Towyn, for from the former place four bottles of brandy were donated, and from the latter eight bottles.

#### X. A PROJECTED SALE IN DOLGELLEY IN 1766.

Among the archives is an ancient notice of "the particulars of sale" of what is termed "the manor of Dolgelley, with the several freehold estates of Hugh Vaughan, Esq., situate in the counties of Merioneth and Montgomery". The notice was printed at Shrewsbury by J. Eddowes, who lived near the market-place, in the year



1766, and the property was offered for sale by auction at the Golden Lion, Dolgelley, on the 30th October in that year.

The property comprised the house of Hengwrt, described as "that new, elegant and agreeable seat", and farms, etc., in Machynlleth, Pennal, Llanaber, Llanfihangel y Pennant, Llanfachreth, Llangelynin and Dolgelley.

It is observed as an inducement to purchasers that the "greatest part of the estate is let . . . at old and easy rents, and capable of great improvements, and having the rents in general considerably raised".

The particulars are of interest, and throw considerable light on economic and social conditions at the time.

The Hengwrt Demesne is described as

A large commodious and extensive Farm, well proportioned in Meadow, Plough, and Pasture Land, situate near a Landing Place upon an Arm of the Sea: the Tide flowing under the orchard, is extremely well wooded and watered: an unlimited Right of Common to several Hills: there are good Buildings conveniently erected on several parts of the Demesne: the House is elegant both for Size, Beauty, Regularity, and Utility, and has Conveniences such as good Orchards, Gardens, and Buildings, as well for Profit as Pleasure: also a good Wear and other Fisheries.

The greater part of the Fences, both within and without, are handsomely and strongly built with Stone, great Improvements may be made by diverting Water over most of the land.

Also the Impropriations, Rectories and Tythes of the several parishes of Llanelltyd and Llanvachreth, together with several Farms and Tenements, and a Mill lying contiguous to the said Demesne of Hengwrt: And all other, the real Estate of the said Hugh Vaughan, Esq.: within the said several Parishes of Llanelltyd and Llanvachreth, now in the holding of the said Mr. Vaughan, and his Under-tenants, of the Yearly value of 300 l. and upwards.

The first lot is described as a public house, just by the town of Machynlleth, in the parish of Pennal, situated

apparently at the Merioneth end of the bridge, where some cottages still stand. It was in the occupation of one Evan Meredith, and consisted of a stone-built slated house, with a garden and smithy. It was leased for three lives—of which one was gone, and the others were aged 80 and 40 years—with a reserved rent of 5s. per annum. Particular interest, however, is attachable to the fact that, in addition to the cash-rent, a couple of pullets were payable at Shrove-tide, and a “heriot” or 3s. in lieu thereof at the death of each lessee. These particulars can be compared with those quoted as surviving in Dolgelley and elsewhere.

The second lot was Penrhyn Issa Farm, the lands of which lay on both sides of the Dovey near the bridge. The area is given as between 200 and 300 acres, with two farm-houses and outbuildings and a sheep-walk on Foel Goch. The old rents amounted to £55 per annum, and sums totalling 9s. 8d. were payable to the King.

The third lot was the farm of Pant y Spydded, rented at £15 per annum, with a right of common on Esgair Cerrighirion, and a seat in church. A sum of 1s. 2d. was payable annually by the vendor as King’s rent.

The fourth lot was Cwyn Freiche, Pennal, rented at £18 per annum, with outgoings as King’s rent of 1s. 2d. It also had a right of common on Foel Goch.

The fifth lot was Hendre Wallog, Llanfihangel, rented at £31 per annum. The area in this case, as in most other lots, is not given. It possessed a right of common to Graigwynnion, and a seat in church, together with a tenement called Nant y Llwyn, producing a rental of £8 per annum.

The sixth lot was Bwlch Coch Farm, Llanaber, with a right of common in Braich y Gwyddel and Tyddigre, and a seat in church. The rental was £21 per annum,

and the outgoings were 7s. as King's rent, and 1s. payable to Harlech Castle, an interesting survival of the olden provision for victualling the castle.

The seventh lot was an untenanted house at Llanaber called Barmouth House, situated above the quay at Barmouth. As an attraction it is said that "it would be a delightful house for a family for the summer season for sea-bathing"—one of the first indications of the growth of Barmouth as a holiday resort.

The next four lots were Brithdir farms, to each of which rights of common were attached on Waen Brythdir and Moel Esgidion. Each also had the right to a sitting in church. The farms are Pryselwyd Ucha, Tyddyn Derwen, Cefn-y-maes and Tyr Mab Cynan, the rentals being £10, £7 10s., £10 and £12 respectively. Lot 12 was the adjoining farm of Dolgwartheg (rental £12) with like rights of common on Moel Esgidion, and, in return for an annual payment of 4d., on Craig Llwynhir also. It, too, had a seat in church, and the timber on this farm and Tyr Mab Cynan was valued at £500.

A series of farms then follows: Gwengraig, in the cultivation of the vendor (rental estimated at £40), Cefn-y-clawdd (£22 and 10s. payable to Maes-y-pandy), Ty'n y Nant (£10 10s. and 10s. King's rent), Llety Coigen (£20), Pen-y-bryn (£15), and Coed (£17), each one of which had rights of common on Cader Idris and a seat in the parish church.

Lot 19, Cefn Coed, was a rearing and breeding farm by the river, with a rental of £24. It is of interest because it is said that there is on it a slate rock, with a fine quarry for grave-stones, workable at a trifling expense. Attached to it was a house and "vottie" (=bwth, cottage), in Llangelynin, the possession of which gave rights of common on Creigia Dafydd. Cefn Coed is still a flourishing

farm, and it is found recorded as early as the fifteenth century.

Two lots of no interest follow, but lot 22 is important. It is described as “ the manor, or reputed manor, or lordship of Dolgelley, with the several shops and shambles . . . together with all the fee-farm, chief and other rents, tolls at fairs and great markets, with pickage, stallage, waives, estrays, reliefs, heriots, duties, alienations, services, privileges, profits, perquisites and advantages arising out of and from the said manor of Dolgelley, or the hill called Clogwina mountain. . . .” The annual profits are computed to be from £13 to £14 per annum, out of which £1 16s. were payable to the King.

Dolgelley never was a “ manor ” or a “ lordship ”. It was probably founded as a “ maerdref ” by Cadwgan ap Bleddyn in the twelfth century, and the marts were established in the fourteenth century by the Vicecomes, Walter de Manny. The terminology is an interesting illustration of how exaggerated manorial rights were claimed in a place where they had never existed—a common enough feature in Merioneth. The low value attachable to these rights is sufficient indication of the extent of their enforcement.

Lots 23 and 24 deal with the two principal Dolgelley Inns, the Ship and the Golden Lion, also known as Plas Issa. Both were in the tenancy of one William Williams, and, in the Ship, a mercer and a barber also carried on their occupations. Attached to the Ship was a brew-house, a garden and a field near the house, features which have long ago disappeared. The total rental amounted to £20 13s.

The Golden Lion of the time possessed a large public

room, a large stable and yard, a close cock-pit, a large garden and a brew-house, all of which, save the cock-pit, still exist.

In addition the Cae Marian, now the public recreation ground, belonged to the inn, whose rental was £19 10s. per annum. This is somewhat peculiar, for at a slightly later time the income from Cae Marian became the town's share of the enclosures.

Attached to the Golden Lion, but not included in the lot, was a malt-house, "let to make at so much a bushel"—which recalls the old system of prisage of ale—and capable of wetting 40 strikes.

Lot 25 was a house, since included in the Golden Lion, let in four tenements for £3 19s., and the old oak staircase of this house is still fortunately preserved, though much spoilt by the adjacency of panelling in other wood.

A number of lots of cottages and dwelling-houses then follows. They are of very little interest, save that some of them were leased for the space of three lives, or more or less, on nominal rents.

It cannot be said with certainty what the cause of this arrangement was. Possibly they were ordinary building leases; possibly instances where tenants, with an hereditary right for occupation in perpetuity (a common right in old unfree villes, where the liability of one "adscriptus glebae" was partially compensated for by fixity of tenure), surrendered such right for the sake of a temporary reduction in rent and security of tenure for themselves and their immediate descendants. That, in fact, was a method employed generally in the eighteenth century to put an end to rights of hereditary occupation in favour of the landlord's claim to freehold. It was a

natural evolution when the hereditary liability of the tenant to perform services went by the board.

It would be difficult for tenants to resist the pressure brought to bear on them—the threat of eviction and litigation—and such surrenders were common in the period. It is by no means clear what the legal rights would have been, in view of the extinguishment of “services” and the substitution of “contract” for “custom”.

It is worthy of notice that the immediate rentals were reckoned in shillings, while the rentals procurable on the expiry of the leases are reckoned in pounds.

One lot, number 30, consisted of semi-detached houses, one of which was in the possession of Mrs. Elizabeth Nanney for life at a rental of 1d. per annum, the other being rented at £2 10s.

Lot 33 is not now traceable. It was a public-house, leased for four lives at 9s. per annum, and had a brew-house attached to it. There was considerable dispute as to the termination of the lease.

Cottages at Pen-y-bryn and Pandy Rodin also appear, the latter place being spelt Pandur Odin. Lot 54 is the present house of Pandy Rodin, then, and indeed until quite lately, consisting of a couple of dwelling-houses, rented at 14s. per annum.

Rentals of cottages and dwelling-houses, on an average, appear to have risen between 1766 and 1926 as much as fifty to sixty-fold.

Lots 58-9 consisted of four houses in Dolgelley, rented at an average of 16s. 10d. each per annum, one of them being on a lease for three lives.

Lot 60 was a house with a brew-house and tan-house attached with two acres of land, rented at £9 15s. 10d., and lot 61 was another tan-house on Cae Marian ucha, leased at £4 12s. 6d. per annum.

A bakehouse with two houses near the bridge, leased at the same rent, follows. Lots 63-5 are fairly large houses, one of three storeys, rented at £3, £4, and £4 8s. per annum respectively.

Lot 66 is a row of houses near the church, still standing. They were leased at a total rental of £4 8s. per annum. Lot 67 is a solitary cottage.

Lot 68 consists of Hengwrt house and demesne, but the description given of it is most inadequate and disappointing.

Most of the farm-houses offered for sale are stated to be in good repair, built of stone with slate roofs, and the holdings walled round very much as at present. Indeed the change in appearance in the country-side in the last 160 years does not seem to have been great. The stone-walls of the time show, as do the plans of the 1794 surveys, that enclosure had proceeded a long way before the Enclosure Acts, though Sir Robert Vaughan the second is credited with the erection of some 55 miles of such walls after the passing of the Enclosure Acts.

Many of the cottages in Dolgelley, just as is the case to-day, are described as in bad repair.

The occupations of the cottagers are of some interest. There are eight weavers, two tanners, one school-master, two shoe-makers, one smith, two labourers, two glovers, one gardener, two masons, one butcher, one carpenter, two tailors, one clerk and one slater.

It is doubtful if the advertised sale, which was to be conducted by a Mr. Robert Lloyd, of Oswestry, ever took place, as most of the property is, or was until recently, in the possession of the vendor's family. Certainly Hengwrt itself was bought in by Sir Robert.

Apparently Mr. Hugh Vaughan was deeply involved for a time, and his affairs gave rise to very prolonged liti-

gation, which occupied the courts from 1778 to 1788. The story is a somewhat romantic one. The principal creditor was Robert Lloyd, and in 1765 Hugh Vaughan mortgaged all his estates, including Hengwrt, for some £22,000 to him to pay off his debts. Lloyd was put into possession and realised all the income, making apparently a small annual allowance to the mortgagor. Twelve years after the mortgage, the mortgagee claimed that, including interest and after allowing for all receipts, there was a sum of £30,000 still due on the basis of the mortgage. The mortgagor's lawyer in Oswestry, one J. Lloyd, advised contesting and claimed that the mortgage had been fully satisfied from the rents, etc. A long-protracted litigation ensued, with the result that the mortgagee's claims were held to be dishonest. The eventual judgment was that the whole property should be restored, free of encumbrance, plus cash of some £12,000, excess realisations, and costs.

The suit was, in effect, the rehabilitation of the Hengwrt-Nannau estates, which were, up to that time, threatened with disruption. The saving of the estates was almost entirely due to this Oswestry lawyer. The Nannau archives contain several letters of his, from which it is clear that he stood almost alone in insisting on a fight. He appears as a very passionate, transparently honest, irascible and somewhat abusive man. He never lost faith and was never discouraged in his fight for what he thought, and what eventually proved to be, right. He was a thorough-going Welshman.

#### XI. A MEIFOD WILL OF 1722.

My next note is not a Merioneth one, but as the document is in Merioneth it may pass, for it is extremely amusing.



It is the will of the Rev. Richard Drewas, Vicar of Meifod, dated 20th March, 1722.

Inter alia, there is a charitable bequest to the parish of Peniarth (Mont.) of house property, wherewith to buy four grey coats every winter for four "decayed persons", and 1s. every first Sunday in the month for eight to ten people coming to church.

Forty shillings was bequeathed to a sister wherewith to buy a house and garden. £10 was bequeathed to a godson "to buy him a horse". To three young boys £5 was left apiece "to be kept by their mother for them untill they know how to make the best use of them".

Interest of £700 was bequeathed to his five sisters "to be paid to their respective hands and not their husbands, who herein have no power at all to raise, receive or give anny acquittance for the money, but the wifes have".

Apparently the good vicar's fear of his sisters' husbands or possible husbands was emphasised later, for a codicil is added:—"I forbid my sister Mary Derwas, being 65 years of age, to contract marriage with any man, for forfeiting her life (sic) in the property bequeathed her".

The codicil also refers to a legatee, William Sky, thus:—"I hearin order my executors, if they see him industrious and frugal, give him some augmentation to his legacies; if loose & idle, take no maner of notice of him".

## XII. SOME OTHER WILLS.

The archives contain a great number of wills, some of which are of some historical interest.

One of the most interesting is a draft and original will of Edward Williams of Meillionydd, dated 16th November, 1677, under which he left £2,400—an enormous sum for the time—to build a Grammar School at Pwllheli.

The original will is torn and may have been destroyed, for, so far as I am aware, no school to the extent of the bequest seems to have been erected at Pwllheli.

Another interesting will is that of one Roderick Lloyd, dated 25th January, 1728, under which the Penmachno charities were created. The will gave a bequest of £10 per annum to the curate of Penmachno (whose ordinary salary for his clerical duties was also £10) to keep a school for poor children "to write and read English", to perform service every Wednesday and Friday morning in Lent, and to catechise the village children every first Tuesday in the month. £100 was bequeathed to provide 1s. 6d. per week wherewith to buy 12 loaves of 3lb. each, to be distributed every Sunday among the poor, and with the residue of the interest to buy "beef, pork or mutton" for distribution every Xmas Eve. The income of certain lands, up to £120 per annum, was bequeathed in order to build almshouses near Penmachno church for five decayed old men and five decayed old women; the balance to buy "an upper garment, which they shall be obliged to wear thenceforward publicly, with a brass badge on the right arm, bearing the letters R. L.", and to maintain the poor. All beneficiaries were to attend church regularly. £100 went to the S.P.G., £5 to the poor of Nevin, £2 10s. to the poor of Penmachno, and £2 10s. to buy religious books in Welsh for the poor of Penmachno.

Wills of this sort are not without interest. They show a conscious effort in the eighteenth century, which is so often painted in lurid colours, to perform serious social duties.

Another will of interest is that of Richard Vaughan, dated 31st July, 1699. He left £200 to build and maintain almshouses in Spitty, and small sums of £2 for the poor of Spitty (i.e., Ysptyt Ifan) and Penmachno.

An earlier will is that of a William Rogers, a cattle drover, dated 15th January, 1658, who left £10 to buy penny loaves to be distributed among the poor of Meifod, Llanfilla and Selattyn.

In 1717 one William Pugh left £6 annually to the poor of Meifod, and £3 per annum for a school at Meifod.

These are simply a few out of many like bequests. They are by no means without importance in arriving at a proper estimate of what life was like in Wales in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The impression formed, from a consideration of many such gifts, is that many of the well-to-do took a much kindlier interest in their poorer neighbours than what is generally attributed to them, and that the sweeping charges so often made about the divorce between classes in that period require modification. I might also add that the accusation of Anglicisation, and consequent divorce between the rich and poor, was nothing like so wide-spread as is sometimes supposed. That tendency seems to have grown from about 1840 on, and was due to a variety of causes.

### XIII. AN ENCLOSURE AGREEMENT OF 1585.

I have discovered among the Nannau archives an important agreement of 2nd January, 1585, the earliest agreement regulating enclosures. It is an agreement between Sir Thomas Bromley, "lord of the manor of Deythur", and the freeholders of the ville.

The whole of the woods and wastes in the manor were divided, five-sixths of the area being allotted to the freeholders to have rights of grazing "for all manner of their cattells, hogges, swyne, geese levant and cownrhannt" and "sufficient estover" therein. The remaining one-sixth fell to the absolute proprietary right of the "lord of the

manor'', on the definite undertaking that he would not create more freeholds in the manor, thereby lessening the interest of existing freeholders in the woods and wastes.

#### XIV. "PENNY POST".

Can any reader of *Y Cymmrodor* explain the following reference to "penny post"? It occurs in a letter by one Thomas Kyffin, dated 21st May, 1736, in which he writes on the matter of the building of the Penmachno almshouses. The extract runs:—

"I do now suppose you did not receive the letter I sent about three months agoe by penny post".

The previous letter referred to is in existence, and is dated 13th January, 1736.

I have made several enquiries, but without result.

#### XV. COACHING IN 1835.

The following coaching arrangements of 1835 may be of interest. Coaches left Shrewsbury for Aberystwyth every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday morning at 5.45 a.m., arriving at Aberystwyth at 4 p.m. The route was via Welshpool, Newtown and Llanidloes. The return journey was made on the other week days, leaving Aberystwyth at 8 a.m., arriving at Shrewsbury at 6 p.m. Coaches also ran daily from Shrewsbury to Aberystwyth, except Sunday, via Welshpool, Mallwyd and Machynlleth, and every Tuesday and Saturday at 6 a.m. via Welshpool, Newtown and Devil's Bridge.

Every Wednesday coaches left Shrewsbury for Barmouth via Welshpool, Mallwyd and Dolgelley, and on every Tuesday and Friday via Llangollen and Corwen. Every alternate day coaches ran from Liverpool to Barmouth via Eastham, King's (Queen's) Ferry, Mold, Ruthin, Druid, Bala, and Dolgelley, taking  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to  $13\frac{1}{4}$





Hengwrt, Dolgelley, Merioneth.  
(By kind permission of Colonel Armstrong, Hengwrt.)



Plas Hên, the old Caerynwch House, Dolgelley.  
(By kind permission of Major Richards, Caerynwch.)

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hours en route, the return journey being performed the next day. Four coaches a day plied between Carnarvon and Bangor.

#### XVI. BRIDGE-BUILDING UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

Among the archives is an interesting precept of the year 1657, whereby the Commissioners levied £200 on certain residents in "Tal-y-bont" for the repair of the bridge over the Trewern at Bala. No explanation is forthcoming why the levy should have been on Tal-y-bont cymwd, for Bala is in Penllyn.

#### XVII. CHIEF BARON RICHARDS.

The following rough note on Baron Richards has been seen and added to by his descendant, Major Richards, the present owner of Caerynwch.

"Baron Richards was born in 1752 at Coed, a house still existing in the present parish of Brithdir, then part of Dolgelley.

"His life story is a fine example of grit, determination, & love of learning in the face of many difficulties. He was educated at Ruthin Grammar School & Queen's College, Oxford, & became, in course of time, Chief Justice of Chester, Baron of the Exchequer, & ultimately Lord Chief Baron, in all of which capacities he left a permanent mark. He married the heiress of Caerynwch, the old house of which name was apparently built in the year 1500, & he built the present mansion of Caerynwch, in which his descendants still reside, one of the most delightfully situated houses in Wales, the surroundings of which are an eloquent testimony to the fact that Baron Richards was not only a great lawyer, but a natural artist".

Major Richards has added the following comments :—

1. I note you put the date of the old Caerynwch as about 1500. I always understood that it was probably built about the time of Charles I, and . . . who is now a well known architect concurs in this . . .

2. I fancy the Chief Baron was a short thick set man, as he was known by his friends as "Stumpy Dick".

3. I still possess as an heirloom the gold "collar of Esses" he wore over his robes as shown in his portrait by Jackson in the dining room here. This chain or collar is a fine piece of work.

[Major Richards has been kind enough to show me this magnificent S.S. collar, whose origin is more or less an antiquarian puzzle. There are very few similar collars existing, and probably this is the only one in Wales.]

4. He bolted with Miss Catherine Humphreys, afterwards his wife, and had ten children.

Two of his descendants were Edward Vaughan Richards, K.C., and Sir Henry Erle Richards, K.C., at one time legal adviser to the Viceroy of India.

[I had occasion, a short time before his death, to meet Sir Erle in regard to certain Government of India legal work. He struck me then as one of the most acute brains that I have ever met. His quickness in seizing on the salient points in a very difficult and complicated matter was extraordinary; and his rapidity in arriving at a conclusion, which events proved was correct, was astonishing. It seems a pity that so little has been done to commemorate the long string of Merioneth worthies, of whom these members of the Caerynwch family are good examples.]

#### XVIII. CAPON RENTS.

The following list of capon-rents is taken from an account book of the Llanfeilus estate, Carnarvon, anno 1719.



Parish.	Rent.	Cash value.		
		£	s.	d.
Rhiw.	1 goose, 2 capons	2	6	
	6 chickens.	1	0	
	6 chickens.	1	0	
Aberdaron	3 pullets.	1	0	
	2 Goos, 2 Cap.	5	0	
	1 Goos, 2 Cap.	2	6	
	2 Goos, 4 Capons.	10	0	
Bryncroes.	3 pullets	1	0	
	4 Goos, 4 pullets.	10	0	
	3 pullets.	1	0	
	3 dittos	1	0	
	6 chick, 1 pull.	1	6	
. . . . nad	6 chickens.	1	0	
	3 pullets.	1	0	
Tydweiliog.	1 hob mault, 1 hob wheat	1	5	0
	1 goos, 2 capons.	2	6	
	1 goos, 2 capons.	2	6	
Meyllteyrn.	1 goos, 1 pullet.	1	6	

The rest of the rentals of the estate, which passed by marriage to the Hengwrt family, are stated in cash.

#### XIX. YSTUMCOLWYN RENTALS, MONTGOMERY.

A complete list of the rentals of this estate from the years 1756-7 to 1787-8 exists in the Hengwrt records.

It is of great interest as showing the progressive enhancements of rentals on exactly the same property. The enhancements illustrate the rapid increase of cost of living, etc., in the eighteenth century in Wales.

Year.	Total rental.			
	£	s.	d.	
1756-7	238	14	0	
1757-8	442	12	8	
1758-9	438	18	2	
1759-60	447	2	2	
1760-1		do		
1761-2		do		
1762-3	447	14	2	
1763-4	450	15	2	

Year.					Total rental.		
					£	s.	d.
1764-5	..	..	..	..	456	14	2
1765-6	..	..	..	..	456	12	2
1766-7	..	..	..	..	do		
1767-8	..	..	..	..	494	5	8
1768-9	..	..	..	..	do		
1769-70	..	..	..	..	539	13	8
1770-1	..	..	..	..	564	17	8
1771-2	..	..	..	..	570	0	2
1772-3	..	..	..	..	569	17	2
1773-4	..	..	..	..	576	17	2
1774-5	..	..	..	..	576	8	5
1775-6	..	..	..	..	633	12	2
1776-7	..	..	..	..	do		
1777-8	..	..	..	..	629	15	2
1778-9	..	..	..	..	629	7	2
1779-80	..	..	..	..	634	12	2
1780-1	..	..	..	..	do		
1781-2	..	..	..	..	640	5	2
1782-3	..	..	..	..	628	10	2
1783-4	..	..	..	..	do		
1784-5	..	..	..	..	do		
1785-6	..	..	..	..	do		
1786-7	..	..	..	..	630	10	2
1787-8	..	..	..	..	648	4	8

The increase was not due to an increase in the area of the estate, and that the rents were not burdensome seems to be established from the fact that there were very rarely any arrears.

The same accounts contain a number of entries, which show prices and rates prevailing for goods and work done. The following are the most interesting :—

1757. 1,000 slates at rock 5/-.  
 1758. Beef 2½d per lb.  
 1759. Work done at Bryncynfelyn:—Trying for coal £2/7/6, £3/4/-. £2/18/4, £4/2/-; Pair of Witney blankets & a quilt £1/14/-; 3 days pruning 2/6; Labourer's wages 1/4 per day; Collier's wage for 22 days £1/9/4; Load of coal 5/4.  
 1760. Beef 2½d per lb.; 1400 bricks £1/8/8.

1762. Carpenter's wages 1/4 & 1/- per day; Fencer's wages 10d per day; 600 slates 9/6; Load of coal 5/-.
1764. Beef 3d per lb; 60 strikes malting barley £8/10/-; 100 ditto £14/3/11.
1765. 40 do. £6/-; 6 strikes wheat £1/17/6, 6 bush. oats £1/9/10; 30 str. barley £5/12/6; 60 do £12/-/-; 100 do. £18/15/-.
1766. 4 bushels oats £1/4/6 to £1/5/-; 9 strikes rye £2/5/-; Pair of shoes 4/6; 100 strikes barley £22/10/-; Beef 3½d per lb.
1767. 50 strikes malting barley £11/5/-.
1768. 10 bushels oats at 3/9, £1/17/6.
1769. 60 measures malting barley £9/10/-; 40 do. £5/6/8; Pair of shoes 4/6.
1773. 200 bricks 6/-; 20 measures barley £3/5/-; 3 cwt cheese £4/4/-; 3 cwt 3 lbs cheese £4/3/-.
1775. Labourer's wages 2/6 per week, plus 2/- per ann for ale; Load of coal 8/- & 8/6; Coffin £1/7/-; Ale, spice, drink, biscuits at a tenant's funeral £1/1/-, wine ditto 5/-; 1700 bricks £2/11/-.
1776. 1000 slates 10/6; 134 lbs salt butter £3/12/7.
1777. A fat pig £4/5/-.
1778. Load of lime 16/-.
1779. 400 bricks 14/-; 1000 slates £1/2/6.
1780. 90 str. barley at 4/4, £19/10/-; 100 str. malt £22/16/6; 660 bricks 16/6.
1782. Water and cog wheel for mill £9/-/-; 30 measures malt delivered at Chester £7/10/-.
1784. 300 bricks 6/-; 500 slates and carriage 10/-; Load of coals 8/1½; Shoeing a horse 4 3; Carriage of 2 sacks of pears & 1 of apples to Llan gollen 3/-; Ditto of load of pears to Oswestry 1/6; Painting numbers on 7768 trees at 2/6 per 100, £9/13/-.
1786. 450 young oak trees £5/12/6.

## XX. HENGWRT ACCOUNTS 1855.

These accounts show, inter alia, following payments in salaries and wages :—

Chaplain of Rhug	..	£100/- per ann.
Curate of Llanfachreth	..	£35/-/- do.

Curate of Llanelltyd ..	£28/11/- do.
Woodman, year's wage ..	£80/-.
Men servants at Nannau ..	£31/4/- to £24/4/- per ann.
Shepherds .. ..	£28/17/8 to £24/17/2 per ann.
Housemaid .. ..	£1/12/6 per men (board wages).
Labourer .. ..	£1/13/- per men.
Coachman .. ..	£25/- per ann.
Second coachman ..	£12 per ann.
Keeper's board wages ..	9/- per week or £25/- per ann.

In 1859, we have also :—

Llanelltyd parish clerk ..	£1/- per ann.
Park keeper .. ..	£5/- per ann.
Corwen schoolmaster ..	£10/- per ann.
Cynwyd schoolmistress ..	£16/- per ann.
Dairymaid .. ..	£30/4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> per ann, board wages.
Coachman .. ..	£28/- & £18/- per ann.
Groom .. ..	£14/8/- per ann.
Stableman .. ..	£8/16/- & £7/4/- per ann.
Gardener .. ..	£40 per ann.
Housemaid .. ..	£22/- per ann, board wages.

## XXI. MERIONETH ROADS.

The Hengwrt archives contain some ancient maps of Merioneth, and of other parts of Wales.

The earliest, dated 1578, shows not a single road in Merioneth. The next, dated 1610, shows one road only. It enters the county considerably to the south-west of Mallwyd, and passing close to Dinas Mawddwy crosses the hills to Dolgelley. No doubt it corresponds to the existing Bwlch Oerddrws road.

From Dolgelley, it proceeds to Llanfachreth, not Llanelltyd, and thence, in a straight line, through the mountains to Harlech, proceeding from Harlech, through Llandecwyn and Llanfrothen, to Beddgelert. The road is not well shown.

An excellent map of 1777 shows the Welshpool-Dolgelley road, which proceeds via Llanelltyd, through

the Ardudwy mountains to Harlech, thence via Llandecwyn, where the road bifurcated, one branch crossing Y Traeth Mawr near Penmorfa, the other proceeding over the Moelwyn range to Llanrwst, via Penmachno. No road is shown in the whole of Ystumanner.

From Dinas Mawddwy a road ran to Machynlleth as at present. Another ran, as at present, via Llan y mawddwy, via Bwlch y groes to Bala, passing the lake on the south-east through Llangower. From Bala it proceeded via Llanfair to Bettws Gwerfyl Goch. No road connected Dolgelley with Bala, or Bala with Corwen.

These maps are of some interest also with regard to the name "Barmouth". Some years ago a note appeared in "Byegones" to the effect that in 1768 the web-merchants of the neighbourhood met in conclave and decided on changing the existing name of "Abermawe" to Barmouth, as more pronounceable than the original. The story is *ben trovato*, but inaccurate. The map of 1578 contains the name "Barmouth". The change probably occurred about the time of Henry VII's activities.

The map is of interest, too, as it shows a church at Dinas Mawddwy, but none at Towyn, an inexplicable omission. A church is also shown at Gwanas, the olden seat of the Knights Hospitallers.

The 1610 map also excludes Towyn church, showing churches at Dinas Mawddwy, Aberdovey and Nannau. The 1777 map shows Towyn church.

A map of 1805 shows the roads practically as they are to-day. It, too, shows no church at Towyn, nor indeed any in Ystumanner.

At the Reformation the income of the old Towyn church was, to the extent of 10/11ths, appropriated to Lichfield Cathedral, but the Bangor Cathedral records show a fairly regular succession of rectors at Towyn. Was

the church, throughout this period, in a state of extreme disrepair and unused?

I have heard various derivations of the name Mallwyd. All the old maps spell the place Mayn lloyd, which should settle the question beyond doubt.

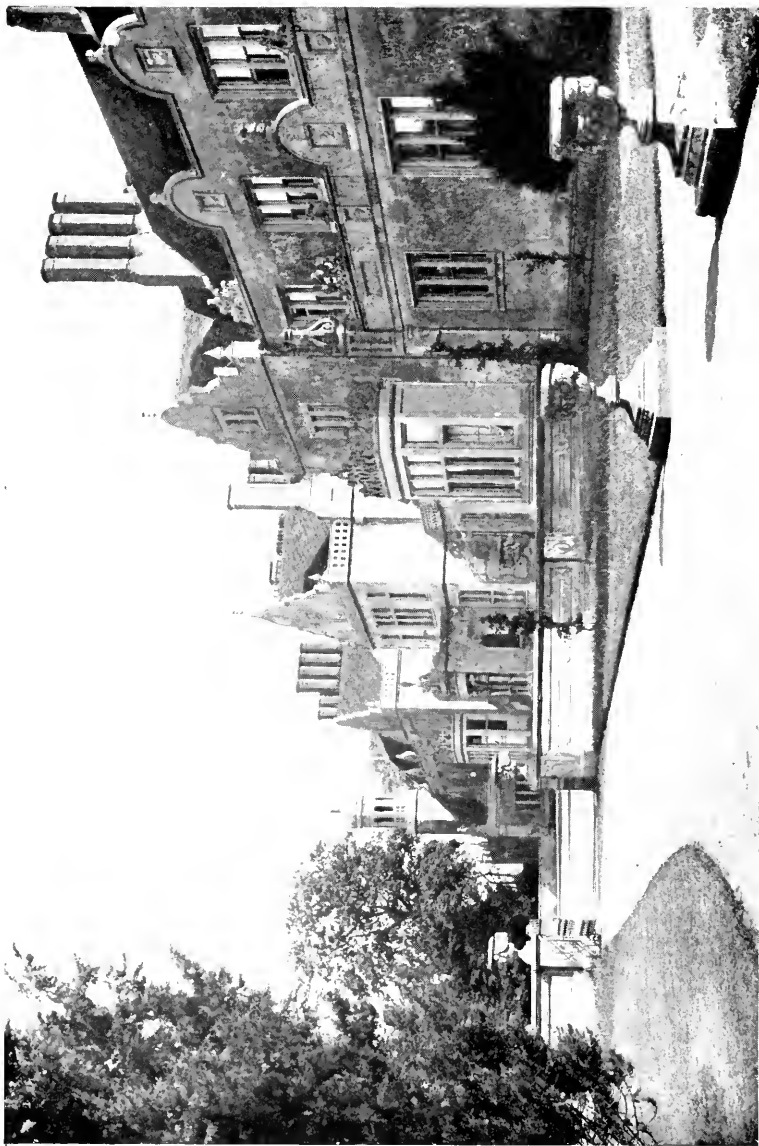
The Harlech spellings are interesting. 1578 Harlech, 1610 Harlech, 1777 Harlegh or Harley, 1805 Harleigh. Re Dolgelley they are: 1578 and 1610 Dolgelhe, 1777 Dol Gellhe, 1805 Dolegelly.

The name "Wnion" presents great difficulty. I think the "Wn" = "afon". At any rate in 1578 the river was called Auon uauē, the "u" having the sound of "v". So too in 1610. In 1777 it is Avonvawr, likewise in 1805. The "uauē" of 1578 does not, however, = fawr, but "maw", mutated to "faw", whence the transition to "fawr" is easy. The "ion" in Wnion I cannot explain, nor can I find any trace as to when the river was first called Wnion.

A very old name for it is undoubtedly "Maw", its confluent being Mawddy, then Mawddach.

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Hardwick House, Norfolk.

(From a photograph by kind permission of Mrs. Gurney, Spixworth Park.)

*To face p. 45.*



# A Synopsis of Two Tours made in Wales in 1775 and in 1811

By Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, Baronet ; and his Son, the  
Rev. Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, Baronet.

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From a Transcript in the National Library of Wales,  
taken from the original MSS.

By HERBERT M. VAUGHAN, M.A., F.S.A.

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WHILST staying in an old Norfolk country-house during the summer of 1925 I came across a number of Diaries of travel made by members of the Cullum family, amongst these being three volumes dealing with tours in Wales undertaken about the year 1775, and again in 1811. The fact that my friend and hostess, Mrs. Maud Gurney, is the sole representative of the now extinct Cullum family naturally accounted for her possession of these Diaries. By her kind permission I was allowed to send both these Welsh diaries to our National Library for transcription, and I think they will be found useful to not a few historians and students of Welsh social life of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The family of Cullum of Hardwick House, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, is closely associated with botany, letters and travel. Of the eight baronets who resided at Hardwicke, no fewer than four have received special notices in the " Dictionary of National Biography ". It was the seventh baronet, Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, who was responsible for the earlier Diary, which dates apparently from the year 1775 ; and it was his son and heir,

also Thomas Gery Cullum, who wrote the later Diary of 1811.

The earlier of the two Diaries is unfortunately incomplete, for its first page opens with an account of the neighbourhood of Pembroke. From this circumstance it is clear that Sir Thomas's journal so far as Pembroke has perished. The Diary is written in a good legible hand on excellent paper, octavo size, and is bound in a white vellum cover with a clasp. It contains over 60 leaves of close-written manuscript, besides a good many notes on the opposite blanks. Most of the matter is confined to the Principality, but several pages are devoted to descriptions of Hereford, Ludlow, Worcester, and other places across the English border. The chief value of this Diary lies, in my opinion, in its comparatively early date, for it anticipates by quarter of a century and more the numerous Welsh Tours of Napoleonic times. Moreover, Sir Thomas Cullum is a careful observer, and he notices many little incidents or traits of rural economy that most travellers in search of the picturesque alone would have ignored. The accounts of the visits paid to Llandrindod Wells and to Trevecca College at this period are also of exceptional interest.

The first date in the Diary is July 27th, but the year is not mentioned, though it must have been 1775. After visiting the Stack Rocks and Milford Haven, "a Harbour that could receive and contain all the Navies in Europe", Thomas Cullum rode to St. Gobin's [Govan's] Well.

"It is very near the sea, covered over with some rough stone work. The water is temperate with no particular taste. It still maintains some credit. A poor woman was at it with her husband from Caermarthen, near 40 miles; he had a Pain in his Hip; he bathed the Part and drank the Water. You descend to this [well]



Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, Bart. Died 8 Sep., 1831,  
in his 90th year.



*To face p. 46.*  
Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, 8th Bart. Died 1855.



through a little Chapel of no great antiquity, 18 by 12. At one end is something like an Altar Mon., perhaps the old Altar. On this Altar is laid the money of Visitants, if the Priestess of the Chapel happens to be absent. This was the case when I was there, and the Information I had was from the poor Woman and her Husband; upon my return I saw her, and she asked me how much I had left for her in the Chapel. The building has a stone seat all round it. In it is a little Puddle which they call a spring, good for the Eyes. The water is taken out with the shell of a Limpet. The Rock scenery here is grand, but otherwise the place has not much that deserves the notice of a traveller. The number of the steps to the Chapel is about 70, from thence to the Well, 30. In the clefts of the rocks on the left of the well are some Crystallizations, which they call Diamonds. The Chapel belongs to Mr. Campbell of Stackpool<sup>1</sup> adjoining, who has lately repaired the Roof. . . .

“There is a little Cavity in the rocks close to the Chapel, in which you are told Our Saviour took refuge for fear of the Jews; you may still see the impression of his Person.

“By the bye, it may not be very difficult for this Well to support its Reputation, if visited by People who can walk near 40 miles and back again!”

“August 1st.—Depart from Pembroke, and take leave of Mr. Holcombe<sup>2</sup> and his Family with more regret than

<sup>1</sup> John Campbell, M.P. for Cardigan; created Baron Cawdor of Castlemartin, 1796; died 1821.

<sup>2</sup> Probably William Holcombe, of Cosheston, eldest son of William Holcombe, of Cosheston (by his wife, a Meyrick of Bush). His three younger brothers were the Rev. John Holcombe, rector of Tenby; Admiral Essex Holcombe; and the Ven. George Holcombe, rector of Pwllcrochan and Archdeacon of Carmarthen. William Holcombe was instrumental in founding the “Pembroke Society”, the Chippen-

I ever did of any Persons with whom I have had so short an Acquaintance ; after having been entertained by them almost a Fortnight, with the Elegance and Politeness of England and with the hearty Hospitality of Wales. The Town and Neighbourhood of Pembroke much obliged to him for being instrumental in forming a kind of literary Club, and founding a kind of Library ”.

“ Stopt at Tavern Spite, 17 miles, which though thought of Consequence enough to be mentioned in the Map, is a most wretched Hovel ; and where we would have starved if the kindness of our Pembroke Friends had not followed us even thus far. Here the Counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen divide, and the Welch Language is talked ”.

From Tavernspite Cullum travelled by way of St. Clears to Carmarthen, and thence past Abergwili Palace —“ the only Habitable Palace belonging to B. of St. David’s ”—to Llandilo. The writer notes the operations of harvesting in the fields, and draws a little sketch of the cradle-scythe then in use in the Vale of Towy. He admires Golden Grove, the seat of Mr. Vaughan,<sup>1</sup> and considers Newtown<sup>2</sup> (the old name for Dynevor Park) “ the finest seat he has seen in South Wales ”. He finds the roads good, and “ enlivened with legible Mile-stones ”.

dale book plate of which is noticed in Sir Evan D. Jones’s *Welsh Book Plates* (p. 96). There is a pedigree given of the Holcombe Family in Burke’s *History of the Landed Gentry*, 1838 (vol. iv, pp. 95, 96).

<sup>1</sup> Richard Vaughan, formerly of Shenfield, Essex. He had succeeded to the Golden Grove estates under the will of Anne Vaughan, duchess of Bolton. He died 1781, and his son bequeathed Golden Grove to the 1st Lord Cawdor.

<sup>2</sup> Dynevor was then owned by George Rice, M.P., who had married Cecil, daughter and heiress of Earl Talbot. She later became Baroness Dynevor in her own right. George Rice died in 1779, and his widow in 1793.

But he is struck by the mean appearance of the cottages.

“ The Mud Houses in these Parts are of most wretched Construction. The Walls do not consist of Lath and Plaister, as in Suffolk, etc., but are entirely of Earth, and that not of Straw wrought up with it, but with sometimes a Layer of Straw ; and the Chimnies, scarcely rising above the Roofs, are of conical Wicker-work barely plaistered over. The Walls are often seen in a state of Vegetation ; the Roofs universally thatched, whereas in N. Wales the Cottages are of stone covered with Slate, but they want those pretty little Gardens which the poorest Hovel here always has. The Pembrokeshire Head-Dress does not yet cease . . . .

“ Wales is certainly in an improving State. Many Turnpike Roads have been made of late years ; but they have still great faults ; direction Posts are much wanting ; the Bridges are not only most inconveniently narrow, but too few in number ”.

A little later on, again speaking of the cottages of Carmarthenshire, Thomas Cullum observes :—

“ Most of the Cottages are destitute of Glass Windows, instead of which neat Lattice-work. Yet the inhabitants of these wretched Huts are better cloathed and have less unjoyous Countenances than the Tenants of better Houses in England. Their woollen Cloaths are not so subject to hang in Tatters as the slight Stuffs and Linen of the English. And I think upon the whole that the Poor in Wales are a happier set of People than those of the same condition in England. They are not indeed very industrious, but they are sober and content with a little. Beggars are to be met with but very rarely ; I have been asked for a Halfpenny for Tobacco ”.

The writer proceeds towards Llandovery from Llan-

dilo, where he describes the “handsome Bridge, the performance of Thomas Edward,<sup>1</sup> 1773, the son of the architect of Pont-y-pridd”. He adds that this bridge cost the sum of £800.

At Llandovery the writer speaks of complaints as to the increased cost of provisions, yet he tells us that “beef is 4d. a pound; mutton 3½d.; veal never above 3½d.; butter 6d.; half-grown Fowls fit for the Table, 8d. a couple”. He also highly commends “the comfortable Inn, the Lamb”.

From the price of food, Cullum rather abruptly changes his subject: “In these parts, as well as in Pembrokeshire, is a religious sect called Jumpers. They are most ignorant Enthusiasts; after their extempore Sermons, they jump and dance about the Room in the most extravagant Manner till they are quite exhausted. In these Paroxysms some indecent Familiarities between the sexes are said to take place, the usual Conclusion of many religious Transports”.

Whilst at Llandovery Cullum was seized with the notion of making an expedition to the newly-opened spa of Llandrindod Wells. With this intent he engaged a post-chaise and drove, presumably by way of the Sugar Loaf Mountain, to Builth. He found the road in an execrable condition, but duly arrived at his destination. As it was only some twenty-five years previous to Cullum’s visit that Llandrindod’s reputation had acquired any vogue outside the immediate locality, and less than twenty years since Dr. Linden<sup>2</sup> had published his book on the

<sup>1</sup> There seems an error in the name here—*David* Edwards, son of William Edwards (1719-1789), of Pontypridd fame, is probably intended.

<sup>2</sup> “A Treatise on the Three Medicinal Mineral Waters at Llandrindod, in Radnorshire, South Wales; with some Remarks on Mineral and Fossil Mixtures in their Native Veins and Beds, at least



new Welsh spa and its medical properties, the following account must rank as one of the earliest known of Llandrindod Wells, and it certainly is ably and amusingly written. Moreover, there is included an original poem on the Wells composed by the writer of the Diary in this volume, where the curious enquirer may read it, if so disposed.

“Llandrindod Wells in Radnorshire, 7 miles from Builth. The first part of the Road is an Ascent up a steep rocky Mountain, then through an enclosed wooded Country, till you come to a large Heath (by the late Rains almost a Bog), in which the House for the Company is situated—an enlarged Farm House, solitary, shaded with stately sycamores. The Welch themselves allow the Journey from Llandovery hither to be a most tedious and melancholy one. The Preparations for Supper gave rather unfavourable Ideas; Pewter Plates and dirty Cloths seemed rather proper for an Ordinary of Farmers on a Market Day. However, we sate down, 30 of us, a miscellaneous Party, to a very good Supper at 8d. a Head. No particularity of Dress or Manners distinguished any of the Company, which was of the second Rate. The Glass went round pretty briskly among the Gentlemen at the Bottom of the Table, and they were very noisy in their Mirth. The Fiddle and the Harp are plaid upon every Meal, and made very agreeable Harmony: and no doubt but the Cheerfulness they inspire must assist the Efficacy of the Waters. After supper a small Company danced to a Fiddle and Harp. I was surprized to see so many decent

as far as respects their Influence on Water. By Diederick Wessel Linden, M.D. . . . London, 1756”.

Dr. Linden visited Llandrindod in August, 1754. His work has a frontispiece showing a natural spring. My own copy of this curious book bears an inscription from Dr. Linden himself to the Rev. Thomas Lewis. The List of Subscribers to this work is well worth studying.

People collected together in a Place which themselves owned was accessible by no tolerable Road.

“ The Wells are about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the House. The first is a Pump of Saline Water, less nauseous than sea-water, with a small Tincture of Sulphur. More of this is drunk than of the rest: it is conveyed also into a little shabby covered Bath. Thermometer in the Water, 55. These waters have been discovered as medicinal about 40 years. A little beyond is what they call the black Well (I suppose from its tingeing the Stones of its sides with that Color); the water of it is strongly sulphurous; Thermometer, 54. It rises in a little Copse of Alders, & the scenery is rural and pleasing. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile to the left is the Rock Well; it is a small stream dripping from a Pipe inserted in a Rock. The Water is saltish with a Chalybeate Taste; Ther. 52. The Patients drink immeasurable Quantities of these Waters; and seem not clear in their Virtues; 8 or 10 half-Pints a common Dose. Some Country People, who fancy it much the same whether they drink the same Quantity once or at many Times, have been known to drink 20 Quarts in a Day.

“ The Humble Church is near the House; its east Window about 1 foot by 3. Graves unregarded in these Parts, and without Flowers. A very good Breakfast of Tea, Coffee, Chocolate for 8d. a Head; a good Dinner, I am told, for 6d. A large Dancing Room and Billiard Room, and a Bath Hair Dresser has found his way into these Wilds of Radnorshire.

“ Raspberries grow wild in the woods; Children brought some after Supper last night, and I find them myself in plenty. The Berries of the (?) *Enychium nigrum* quite ripe;<sup>1</sup> they are quite black, and are called Windberries, much inferior to Cranberries for Tarts.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the common Bilberry, *Vaccinium Myrtillus*.

Both [berries grow] intermixed in the Bog on the right Hand, as you go from the House to Llandrindod Wells ”.

After returning to Llandovery, Cullum proceeded by way of Trecastle to Brecon. He writes in rapturous terms of the scenery, and admires the two large mansions of Penpont and Abercamlais as he approaches Brecon. He takes a special interest in the churchyards; (by the way, his brother, the Rev. Sir John Cullum, was the author of a small work entitled “On Yews in Churchyards ”.) At one of the small parish churches near Brecon he describes “a Grove of the noblest Yews I ever saw ”. And he adds: “All the Graves both within and without are strewed with Flowers and Greens for a Twelvemonth after the Decease. The Church had now great Quantities of Meadow Sweet strewed in it, which being half-withered this afternoon smelt agreeably. I could wish to see this pleasingly-mournful Office performed ”.

Brecon and its many points of interest are described at considerable length, and it is evident that the whole district made a strong appeal to this cultured English visitor. He finds, however, a fly in all this sweet ointment, and that annoying fly is the prevalence of Methodism. But Cullum’s annoyance was the direct cause of a visit paid by him to Talgarth itself, and as such accounts are not frequently met with, we must feel grateful for a personal though highly prejudiced criticism of a famous institution.

“Lady Huntingdon’s fanatic Madness has here [at Brecon] likewise exemplified itself in a small neat Chapel, where I heard a shabby Fellow with a coloured Handkerchief about his Neck, in an unanimated but noisy Harrangue to a full Audience, drowning the sound of the neighbouring Stream. It was in Welch, so I could not understand him.

“ But it is at Talgarth that her Enthusiasm displays itself in its utmost Extravagance. She has there instituted what she calls a College, which is a Seminary for young Men to be brought up in her own Tenets, and sent into the World to propagate them. I had the Curiosity to visit this extraordinary Foundation. The House, modern gothic, stands in a pleasant Spot, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles out of the Road on the Right, exactly half way between Brecknock and Hay. At present it contains but 7 Students, whom I happened to find at their Studies, which were in the New Testament both in Greek, Latin and English. They were about 20 years of age, dressed chiefly in black, very grave and attentive to their Business. Their Master was a decent Man about 30 years of age. The School Room is a very pleasant Apartment with a Collection of Books in it. Over the Chimney is a Painting of — Frank, a German Divine. In this Room was a huge Plan for the Establishment of the College, printed at Bath on a Sheet of Paper. I begged the Favor of one of these [plans], but was denied with the Excuse of their having no other Copy of it but that. As I cast my Eyes over it, I observed that the Design of the Foundress was to support entirely 20 young Men for 4 years each, and instruct them in her religious Tenets, and there were 20 Desks in the Room. The Chapel is a neat pretty Room. A handsome Eating Room, used when her Ladyship is among them, for hither she sometimes comes and makes a short Residence. The common Eating Room is small. The walls of the whole House are adorned with Scripture Passages : that selected for over the Chimney in the Eating Room is ‘ Feed my Sheep ’. Her Ladyship’s Apartment is very small, but the whole is extremely neat, and all the Rooms cheerful, calculated to inspire much more lively and pleasing Sentiments than seemed to reign here.

“ They live in a Collegiate Manner ; their Provisions are procured by a Steward, who is one of the initiated ; their Hours early and regular. This Establishment has taken Place about 7 years, and sent forth about 60 Missionaries. The Expence, including Assistance to those Missionaries who are perhaps not quite able to support themselves, £500 a year. Those who desire to be admitted Scholars (for they must have a most certain Call to the Business) must apply to her Ladyship either in Person or by Letter, and she generally examines the Candidates herself.—These are the Particulars I could collect from the Master and Steward, who shewed me the Apartments with much Civility ; but were rather reserved in informing me with regard to the Manner of instructing the Disciples and the Method of their Studies. And I could not help pitying the Situation of these young Men, who from a settled Gloom in their Countenances seemed rather under the Influence of a religious Melancholy than actuated by the Design of spreading false Doctrines in the World, and imposing upon the Ignorance and Credulity of their Fellow Creatures. I had much stronger Suspicions of the Sincerity of their Instructor. This sect are certainly now very bad Members of Society, and may become most dangerous Instruments in the hands of some future Cromwell. Near this Seminary is the neat House where Howell Harris lived, a famous Fanatic ”.

From Brecon Mr. Cullum proceeded to Hay, “ a straggling Town entirely English, the Church Service always performed in that Language. At a Parish about 2 miles short of it, it is once a month in Welch, so gradually is that Language losing ground. Lady Huntingdon and Mr. Wesley have here erected their inimical Houses ”.

From Hay our traveller crossed into England, but

after various wanderings in Salop, he returned to Wales by way of Montgomery and Welshpool. Of the latter town he remarks, "This is entirely an English Town, having neither the Language nor any Custom of Wales, except strewing Flowers on the Graves for 3 or 4 weeks".

Mr. Cullum gives no dates in this part of his Diary, but apparently it must have been some time in September when he decided to make an expedition from Welshpool to Dolgelley.

"Proposing to pay a Visit to a Gentleman near Dolgelle and to examine the Scenery round that Place, I hired a Guide, a most necessary Companion upon such a Scheme, and set off on Horseback, not that the Post Chaise Drivers would not have attempted it, for they never refuse going where a Cart can go. About 7 miles from Welchpool I passed through the neat little Village of Llanvair, where, as in some other Places, it is usual when any of the Parishioners is in want, for the Clergyman in the Desk to mention the Particulars of his Distress, when a Collection is made in the Congregation. I saw the little wooden Waiter in the Church, which is used on the occasion, and which I enquired the Use of.

"Not setting out till past Noon, I was forced to take up my Night's Lodging at the miserable Village of Dynas Mouthwe in Merionethshire (28 miles), which, though it figures in the Map as a Market Town, has not a Public House in it that sells Wines or spirituous Liquor. The situation of it is in a Valley, with bare and lofty Mountains immediately surrounding it. The Service is here always in Welch, and the Clergyman receives funeral Oblations. This Ride was entirely among the Mountains, and exhibited great Variety of those noble Scenes with



*To face p. 56.*

Rev. St. John Cullum, Bart. Died 1785. Aged 53.

(From a painting by Angelica Kauffman, R.A.)





which these Counties abound. Corn is ever sparingly grown in such Regions ; and I observed to-day the feeblest Efforts towards forming a Manure that can perhaps be anywhere met with : which is, strewing Brakes and even Weeds of a Garden in the Road (and that too that is called a Turnpike one) to be worn and reduced to Rottenness by the Horses and Carriages that pass that way. It is impossible perhaps to have a more lively Picture of the State of the Policey and Agriculture in these Parts.

“ The Cottages in general unpaved & unglazed, but built of Stone, or well-timbered and plaistered, and covered often with Slate, and superior to the miserable Mudhovels of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, which are, I believe, the worst Mansions of Human Beings on this side the Tweed. The neat little and well-stocked Gardens still occur. Potatoes much cultivated in them. They make Cheese of every sort of Milk they can get ; Sheep, Goats and Cows all mixed together ; the Calves’ Maw the universal Coagulum ”.

At length Mr. Cullum reaches Dolgelley, which he is surprised to find “ no despicable little Town for these Parts. The neighbouring Hills are adorned with several not unthrifty Plantations, and some Gentlemen’s Houses are scattered about, such strong Attachment has Property and the native Soil. They want, they say, none of the Necessaries of Life, and are perfectly happy in their situation ; but who that has not once experienced the pleasures of polite and literary Converse, could endure living here ? The High Sheriff of the County and his Son, a Clergyman, had never heard of a Gentleman’s Tour through their own County.<sup>1</sup> I cannot allow them Hap-

<sup>1</sup> This casual allusion to the High Sheriff of Merioneth and his clergyman son serves to fix the date of this tour as the summer and autumn of 1775. Lewis Nanney, of Llwyn, was High Sheriff that

pininess, unless that consists only in not being starved with Hunger and Cold, which their Sheep will preserve them from. The more sensible Gentlemen both of N. and S. Wales complain of the want of polished and literary Company ”.

It is better to make no comment on these naive reflections !

Mr. Cullum speaks of the ruinous church, and its unpaved floor strewn with rushes, and he alludes to a local custom of pealing the church bells at intervals from the moment of a parishioner's death till the hour of his burial. He also notes the presence of the gallows on the hill above the town, though it was thirty-three years since it had been used. Unfortunately, Mr. Cullum never once mentions the name of his host, though he alludes to a dinner at Mr. Nanney's,<sup>2</sup> at which he was present. He speaks of the woollen manufactures of this part of Wales, “ whose Workers are excessively anxious about Affairs in America, to which they make large Exports, but that Trade now stagnates.”

There follows a lengthy description of the ascent of Cader Idris and of the views from its summit. The event seems even to have inspired Mr. Cullum to compose some Latin hexameters on the subject of the mountain and its prospect. He also proceeds to relate how “ as we went up, the poor People were gathering the Berries of the Mountain Ash of which they make what they call wicken Berry Cider, which is done by pouring boiling water upon them, and keeping the Liquor in the Barrel for a month, when it is good to drink, being a pleasant Acid ; sometimes they add Crabs to the Berries. In the Printed Bill

year, and his son, the Rev. Robert Nanney, formerly of Jesus College, Oxford, was then aged about 28 or 29, and both resided near Doldgeley.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently the High Sheriff, already mentioned.



Mrs. Milner Gibson.



*To face p. 58.*  
Mrs. Maud Gurney, Spixworth Park.



of the House, among other Articles, is Meath, which they told me meant Birch Wine ”.<sup>1</sup>

Amid all this remote and wild country it is comforting to read that “ a Highwayman is an Animal of Prey unknown in these Parts ”.

From Dolgelley Mr. Cullum returned to England by way of Welshpool and Shrewsbury, “ after my Alpine Excursion to more cultivated Scenes and more polished Manners ”.

These are only a few extracts taken from Sir Thomas Cullum’s Journal, or rather fragment of a Journal, which contains many other passages of interest. After his return to Suffolk, the writer succeeded his brother, the Rev. Sir John Cullum, of Hardwick House, as 7th Baronet in 1785. He died in 1831, leaving by his wife (Mary, sister of Sir Lovett Hanson) a son and heir, the Rev. Sir Thomas Gery Cullum, of Hardwick, “ distinguished as a botanist ”, who was the author of the second and ensuing Tour, from which I next propose to quote some portions. He was twice married, first to Mary Anne Eggers, of Woodford, by whom he had an only child, Arethusa Cullum, who became the wife of the Rt. Hon. Thomas Milner-Gibson, of Theberton House, Suffolk. The Milner-Gibsons had a family of two sons and a married daughter, Mrs. Alice Mary Robertson ; but their only descendant now living is Mrs. Gurney, the owner of these manuscripts. His first wife having died in 1831, Sir T. G. Cullum married secondly Anne Lloyd, who died as Lady Cullum in 1875. There were no children by this second marriage. Sir T. G. Cullum, 8th Baronet, died in 1855, when the title became extinct.

<sup>1</sup> More probably *meth*, or *metheglyn*, the mead made from fermented honey, which was a common beverage in Wales till recent times.

It was just thirty-six years after his father's Tour in 1775 that the Rev. T. G. Cullum and his first wife made their Tour of South Wales.

The Cullums, travelling in their own chariot and with their own horses, left Cheltenham on June 21st, 1811, and drove by way of Gloucester and Ross to Monmouth. Thence, after stopping at Chepstow, to Newport. They stayed a few days at Cardiff, and thence made their way by Cowbridge, Pyle and Neath to Swansea, and so on through Carmarthen to Tenby, where they spent three weeks. On their return journey, they travelled by way of Pembroke, Haverfordwest and Tavernspite back to Carmarthen. From Carmarthen they went to Llandilo, from Llandilo to Trecastle and Brecon, and thence to Merthyr, returning to Cardiff and finally departing by way of Newport and New Passage on the Severn on August 9th, a period of seven weeks. In all nearly 400 miles were covered, exclusive of short local excursions. Mr. Cullum was evidently an indefatigable sight-seer; nor was his interest confined to the antiquities of the country, for he constantly alludes to the gardens, houses and trees that he saw or visited. His own gardens and park at Hardwick House were already celebrated, so that we can rely on his knowledge and judgment when he speaks of such things. He seems to have had a special fondness for measuring the girth and height of individual trees, and, like his father, he takes a particular interest in the fine yews that are characteristic of the churchyards of South Wales. Many of his comments prove Mr. Cullum to have been a keen and shrewd observer.

On the social side also he records many incidents of interest. His account of Bishop Watson preaching in Llandaff Cathedral and of his subsequent dinner to the local clergy makes good reading, for Bishop Watson,



*To face p. 60.*

Richard Watson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Llandaff.

(From an engraving by Meyer after William Evans in the National Museum of Wales.)





whatever his failings, was a remarkable man. That Mr. Cullum was not without a sense of humour is evident from his description of Abergwili Palace and of the episcopal village hard by.

The Diary, which is contained in two small octavo note books, has been written hurriedly, and often carelessly. I have therefore, here and there, taken some slight liberty with his text, and especially with its punctuation, in order to bring out the intended meaning of the sentences. I have also added a few notes, chiefly biographical, where I have been able to identify the persons mentioned by the writer.

“ June 25th (1811).—Newport, I am told, is a very flourishing town owing to some particular privileges which have been dormant for some time, but which they have lately exercised, of importing their coals duty free. It had little to detain us. The bridge upon entering, built by the son of the famous modern Inigo Jones, William Edwards,<sup>1</sup> seems strong and well built. On the right, just as you have passed the bridge, stands the Castle with its foundations washed by the river Usk; we did not visit the inside. The town is ill paved, and the hill of the church<sup>2</sup> which you pass by very steep. The Day was unfavourable for the prospect. Upon enquiry for the old House called the Murrengers House, we found it had been pulled down last year.<sup>3</sup> This was the first place where we have heard Welch spoken ”.

<sup>1</sup> William Edwards, Independent Minister and bridge-builder in South Wales (1719-1789). His son, David Edwards (died c. 1800) also built several bridges, including that of Llandilo.

<sup>2</sup> St. Woollos Church; now the pro-Cathedral of the diocese of Monmouth.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Cullum's statement about the demolition of the “Murrengers' House” seems to be incorrect. The old sixteenth century house of the “Muranger”, or official collector of “murage” (tolls to repair the town walls), is still standing in or near the High Street of

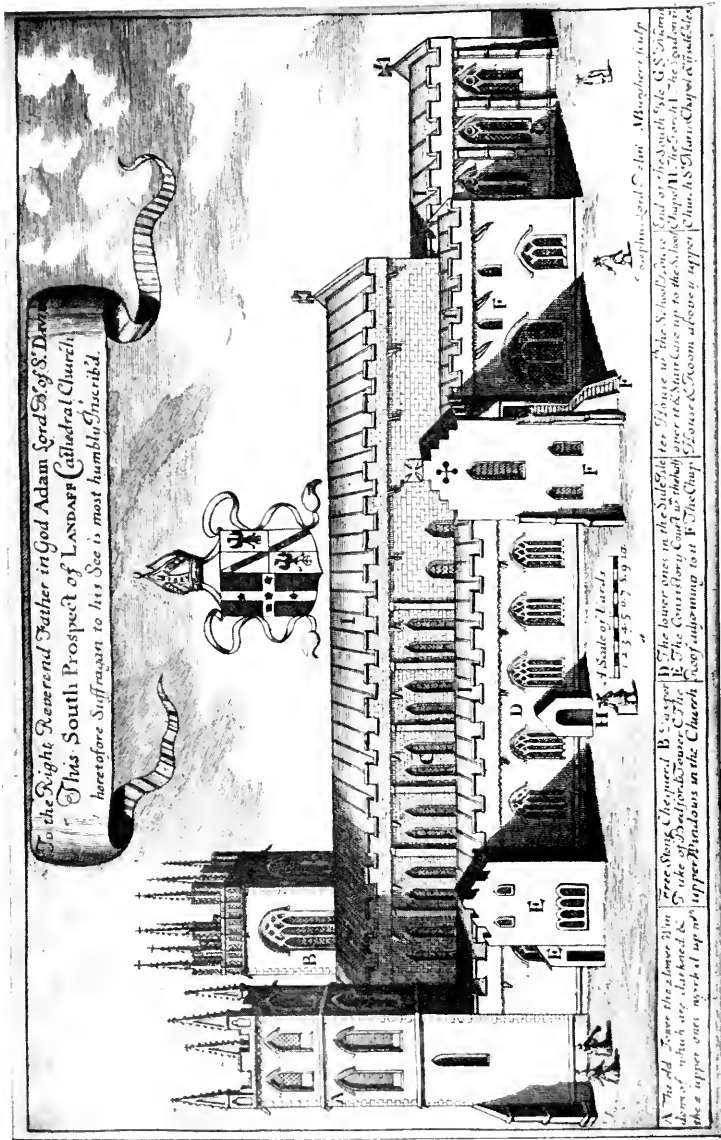
“The approach to Cardiff is very flat, and was it not for the light Elegant minaret of the church would be very uninteresting. The Castle much disappointed us ; a round tower in the center with its hanging Battlements being the only striking object, as the rest of the building has been modernized to make it habitable by Ld. Bute<sup>1</sup> for his son, who was killed by a fall from his horse before it was completed, & I do not hear it is likely his Grandson, Ld. Dumfries, who is now at Cambridge, will live in it. In the Apartments are some good family Pictures of the Windsor Family by Kneller, Vandyke & Holbein, which are going fast to decay by not having fires in the rooms, which would subject them to pay the tax.

“Hearing accidentally from the old man who shews the castle that my old friend, Col. Capper, lived in a house of Ld. Bute’s called Cathays about half a mile distant from the town, we lost no time in calling upon him, & were received with the greatest kindness. We drank tea with him that evening, & received such a pressing invitation to prolong our stay that we made Cathays and Cardiff our head Quarters from Thursday the 27th to Monday July 1st. The house is pleasantly situated about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from the town, & the garden is so well sheltered that it never fails in producing an abundant crop of Peaches & Nectarines. Col. Capper has been here about 18 years. . . . His time is occupied in reading & Farming. Having lately published a treatise upon the cultivation of waste lands & other Tracts he made me a present of them. His mind is so well stored with anecdotes, that his society is a perfect treat ”.<sup>2</sup>

Newport, and is said to contain some interesting panelled rooms and plaster ceilings of its original date.

<sup>1</sup> John Stuart, fourth Earl and first Marquis of Bute (1744–1814).

<sup>2</sup> Colonel James Capper, third son of Francis Capper, of Bushey, Herts, formerly Colonel and Comptroller-General of the Army and



To face p. 62.

Llandaff Cathedral Church, South Prospect.

(From an engraving in the National Museum of Wales. Date circa 1715)



The Cullums made various excursions in the neighbourhood of Cardiff, notably to Pontypridd and to Caerphilly Castle. Nor was the cathedral-church of Llandaff omitted. Richard Watson was at this time Bishop of Llandaff, to which see he had been appointed so far back as 1782. Distinguished as a theologian and scientist, yet notorious as an absentee diocesan, Bishop Watson has been severely handled by modern writers and not without justice; it is therefore interesting to read Mr. Cullum's account of one of Bishop Watson's rare appearances in his neglected diocese, and certainly he presents us with a pleasing description of the maligned bishop. He died in 1816, so the pathos of his farewell sermon at Llandaff Cathedral, which so affected Mr. Cullum, is somewhat discounted by actual fact.

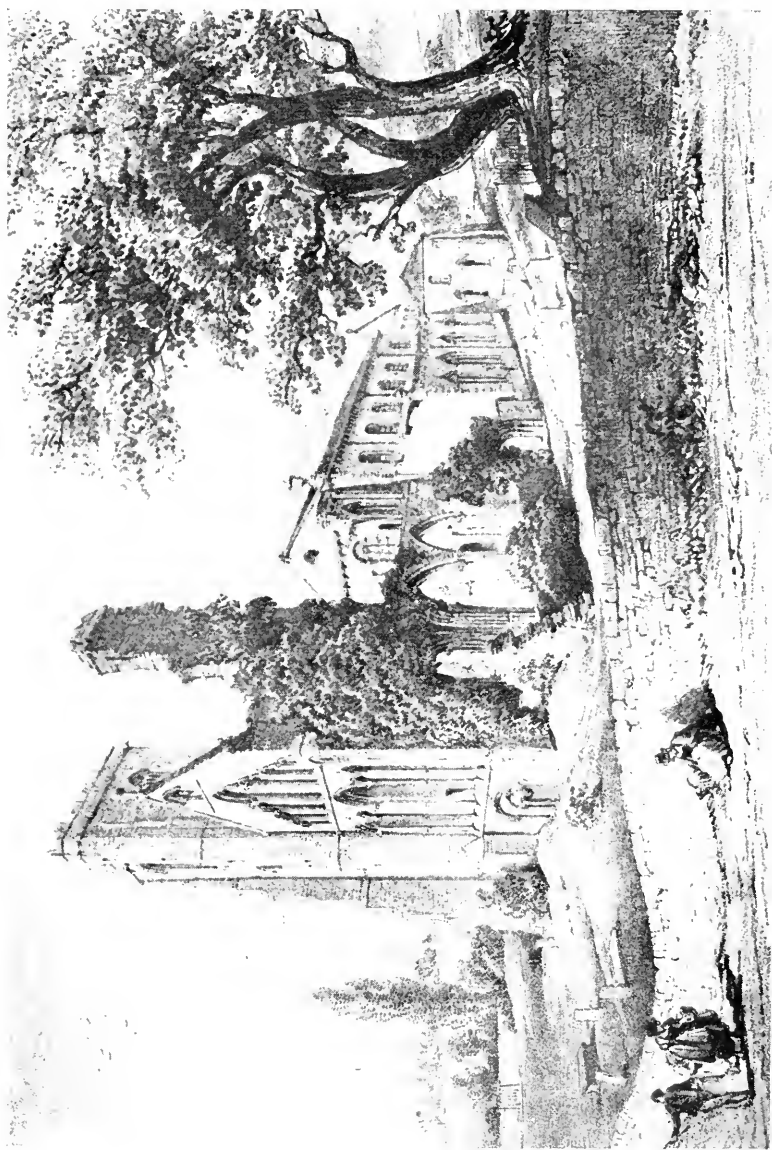
“ . . . . The roof of the old Cathedral fell about 50 years since, part of which, called by the Clerk the Fine Front, has been now built up in a manner which neither corresponds with the original building or has the neatness of a modern Place of Worship. I never saw any place where an architect of even moderate abilities might have so well displayed his genius, as the entrance which passes through the fine remains of the old Cathedral with its elegant gothic arches, which still remain in High perfection, would have produced an effect perhaps superior to what it would have been if the old Cathedral had remained entire. But the Fine Front, as it is called, is neither Grecian nor Gothic, but might be called the Flower-pot Stile from the number of vases of that description with which the front is attempted to be ornamented. I was still more shocked at the want of taste in the building

Fortifications on the Coromandel Coast. Originator of the scheme for enclosing Cardiff Great Heath. Author of *Observations on the Cultivation of Waste Lands, addressed to the Gentlemen and Farmers of Glamorganshire* (1805).

upon our entering the inside, & finding that the pillars and arches of the old Cathedral formed a part of this motley building. This Cathedral is reckoned one of the meanest in Great Britain. The Stals, instead of being fine carved Oak with Gothic Canopies, are only Painted Deal with Corinthian Capitals; and the Bishop's Seat—I cannot call it a throne—is no better. A small part of the End is appropriated to the Welch service. We got the Clerk to read the Lord's Prayer in Welch, but could not trace the least affinity to the English in a single word".

"Sunday 30th June we went with Col. Capper to Llandaff to hear Dr. Watson, Bishop of the Diocese, preach. The service was very slovenly performed by the rector of the place, nor was the Church so full, or the Congregation so attentive as I should have expected. The Text chosen by the Bishop is at all times affecting: 'By Man came Death, by Man also came the Resurrection of the Dead'. I never heard a sermon delivered so impressively or couched in more nervous language. The Certainty of the Resurrection was explained in the most able manner. He also pointed out to us the injustice of our complaining of our suffering for the sins of our first parents, by similtudes drawn from real life, which were most convincing & easy to be understood. At last he bid us all farewell in a way so affecting that he could with difficulty conclude his sermon, & when he told us that it would probably from his age & infirmities be the last time he should appear amongst them, many of the congregation were in tears, as his presentiment seemed but too likely to happen, having had two Paralytic Strokes & 72 years of age.

"Upon being introduced to his Lordship he immediately from his acquaintance with my Father asked me to Dinner. We dined about 4, & our party consisted of



Llandaff Cathedral prior to restoration.

(From a lithograph in the National Museum of Wales.)

*To face p. 64.*





about 20, all of which except a few Country Gentlemen were the clergy of the Diocese, who were assembled to compliment their Diocesan & assist at the Ordination, which was the Occasion of the Bishop's coming amongst them. I sat close to the Bishop, & the day was one of the most interesting I ever passed, the Bishop seeming to forget his infirmities in his lively & animated conversation, except now and then mentioning them rather in a jocular way. I remember one of his anecdotes when the Physicians were disputing whether his complaint was Paralytic or Apoplectic, he astonished them all by exclaiming 'Paralysis est soror Apoplexie'. As I wished to remember every thing that he said, I forgot most of his anecdotes, as while I was endeavouring to recollect one thing, it was put out of my head by some fresh subject. I was introduced to all the principal people by Col. Capper as his cousin, & consequently received a marked attention, as the Colonel is very much looked up to by all the neighbourhood. The Gentleman who sat next to me was Chancellor of the Diocese, Dr. Hunt, who has also the living of Margam where he resides. He invited us to dine with him on Tuesday at his Parsonage, which I accepted. The Bishop's Dinner was a very handsome one; it was of a Pic nic, the Venison being provided by Sir C. Morgan of Tredegar,<sup>1</sup> & the Desert, which was a most excellent one, by one of the Clergy of the Diocese. The Bishop's son was of the party. The expence of the Dinner was met out of the Bishop's private purse, as his income is too small to support these expences.

"The Bishop told us the whole emolument of his Bishopric was only £2000 a year, notwithstanding he held 17 Livings in Commendam, to make up this income. The

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Gould Morgan, second Baronet and father of first Baron Tredegar (1760-1846).

Bishop told us he had written his life from the time of his first going to Cambridge to the death of the late Duke of Grafton, which happened last Jany. (1811) ”.

On leaving Cardiff the travellers proceeded first to Cowbridge, visiting St. Nicholas and Bonvilstone on their way thither.

“ The Clergy in this Neighbourhood (of St. Nicholas) seem to have waged war with the Yew, which seems in a manner consecrated when growing in the Churchyard.<sup>1</sup> In St. Nicholas’ churchyard a few years since grew one of the tallest & most beautiful Yew trees in the Country, which was cut down by the Rector for the purpose of converting it into money; but the tree tho’ thriving in appearance was of no value, being too much shaken in the Grain. At a Wheelwright’s in the village I saw the But end which measured 5 feet in diameter, & I was told in the Place the tree was as high as the tower of their church ”.

“ Reached Bonvilstone, a neat Village, & like St. Nicholas, its neat white cottages & gardens to all of them gave it a Chearful & Happy appearance. The fine Yew tree described by Malkin<sup>2</sup> in his tour in 1803, which was mutilated when he saw it in 1806, has now in 1811 shared the fate of its Neighbour at St. Nicholas. The graves in this churchyard seemed more than usually neat, a greater profusion of flowers being scattered over the graves. But I found Dr. Malkin mistaken, in saying that only those flowers which were sweet-scented were planted, as we

<sup>1</sup> It is common tradition, and probably the fact, that in earlier times yew trees were planted purposely in churchyards, whose sanctity would protect the trees from marauders, for the yew wood was extensively used for the making of bows. The archers of Wales were famous in Plantagenet times for their skill.

<sup>2</sup> *The Scenery, Antiquities and Biography of South Wales*, by Benjamin Heath Malkin, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. (1804), p. 114.



Llandaff Cathedral.

*To face p. 66.*

(From a lithograph in the National Museum of Wales.)

NOTE.—The short spire shown on the north-west tower was never carried out.



frequently observed Box, & many other kinds which had no pretension of that kind. But whatever was planted seemed to be weeded & taken care of, & the grave stones where there were no inscriptions were whitewashed; indeed, this propensity seems carried to an excess in their dwelling houses, as the Roof as well as the House is frequently washed, & I have seen even the bars of the grate ”.

“ [At Cowbridge] our stay was very short. We had only a short time to call upon Mr. Williams, who married a sister of Mrs. Malkin. Mr. W. keeps the free school. . . . It was rather late before we reached Pyle Inn, which we knew would be of no consequence, as the Inn is the largest & best in the Country, or I might say in all Wales, as it has been known to make up 40 beds. It is without exception the most comfortable Inn I was ever in; the situation most beautiful, commanding a prospect equally beautiful both at a distance & near the House. The Garden is very picturesque, & is kept at in a style I never before saw at any house of public entertainment. They appear to have been cut out of the rock at a considerable expence, & thus form a noble amphitheatre round the House. The Inn was built by Mr. Talbot,<sup>1</sup> proprietor of Margam Abbey. . . .

“ About two o’clock we set off to dine with Dr. Hunt, who had kindly invited us when I met him at the Bishop’s Dinner at Llandaff. Dr. Hunt is Rector of the Parish, & has the sole management of everything at Margam Abbey, as he is very intimate with the proprietor. Our great object of curiosity was the Orangerie, the most magnificent in the kingdom both in number & the size of the

<sup>1</sup> Presumably Thomas Mansel Talbot, who inherited the Margam and Penrice Castle estates through his mother, Mary, sister and heiress of Bussy, fourth and last Lord Mansel.

trees. There are various accounts about them, but they all agree that they have been near 200 years in their possession.

“ At Dinner at Dr. Hunt’s we met the Archdeacon of Llandaff (Mr. Probin)<sup>1</sup> & Dr. Morgan, who till lately lived in Berkshire & knew Mrs. Cullum ”.

From Margam the Cullums proceed to Briton Ferry, where they visit Lord Vernon’s seat and grounds, and here again Mr. Cullum raves over the rich, almost sub-tropical vegetation and the lovely views. On their way thence towards Swansea they pass through Neath, which does not produce so favourable an impression on the travellers.

“ Before you enter Neath, the Knole [Gnoll] Castle, a castellated modern residence most beautifully situated upon an eminence in the midst of woods, with a beautiful lawn before it, would be a most enchanting spot were it not for the circumstance of a large coal pit within quarter of a mile in front of the House, & the dismal smoky town of Neath which blackens the surrounding country. I could have shut my eyes with pleasure when passing thro’ this Head Quarters of Vulcan. At the end of the town stands a magnificent remains of a once celebrated convent, but a coalpit, situated almost within the walls, prevented us from exploring its beauties. It appeared the largest monastic remains we had seen in Wales ”.

On leaving Swansea, where they were entertained by their friends, the Pocklingtons, the Cullums drove on to Llannon, at which place they found “ the worst accommodation we have met with on the road ”. On Friday morning, July 5th, they arrived at Carmarthen.

“ Our Inn, the Ivy Bush, is one of the pleasantest we

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John Probyn, of Newland, Glos.; Archdeacon of Llandaff (1796–1843), died 1843.

have met with, & after Llannon appeared a most perfect Paradise. It has a most beautiful view of the River Towy, which with the Coracles & Fishermen is very picturesque. The country in the neighbourhood is wooded, & the ground beautifully varied with Hill & Dale without being mountainous. After Dinner walked by the Parade, as it is called, a most agreeable terrace & seemed originally to have been kept up at a considerable expence, but is now neglected. We shortly after came to the Large Iron Works, where we amused ourselves looking at the large overshot Wheel, & the red hot Plates passing through the flattening Mill, composed of two Cylinders revolving different ways. These works, which I suppose is the case in all, are carried on without ceasing, as at 6 at night a fresh set of men relieve those who began at 6 in the morning.

“ After a very pleasant walk of a mile & a half along the banks of a clear & rapid stream we came to the turnpike road. After walking about half a mile further came to a small village, at the end of which on the right is the Bishop of St. David’s Palace, but it deserves that name only as being the residence of a Bishop,<sup>1</sup> tho’ much improved by the addition of a Gothic front by — Murray.<sup>2</sup> We were not permitted to enter the gates & see even the outside, as the Bishop was there ”.

Perhaps at this point Mr. Cullum’s further account of Abergwili Palace, which he visited again a month later on his homeward journey, had better be inserted here.

“ Before Dinner we took a walk along the clear stream above the Towy to see the Bishop’s palace, but were again

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Thomas Burgess, founder of St. David’s College, Lampeter, was bishop at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Lord George Murray, who was bishop 1800–1803, when he was succeeded by Thomas Burgess.

denied admittance by the witch-like looking Portress at the lodge, as it could not be seen while the Bishop's Lady was there. We knew the Bishop was out on his rounds being [due] to confirm at Tenby the week after we left it. The situation of the Palace is very retired, tho' so near a Village, & the views in the grounds, tho' not extensive, seem to be very delightful, as the neighbourhood of Caermarthen abounds with woody Hills. But we could not help remarking the very miserable & dirty appearance of the inhabitants of the village, the children being worse than naked, their few tattered garments showing they intended to be clothed, if they could. The great use of the Welch language here, & even at Caermarthen, astonished us, Caermarthen being considered the Capital of the Country, & as being in the direct road from England to most of the principal places in Wales".

From Carmarthen the Cullums drove to Tenby by way of St. Clears and Laugharne. At the latter place they intended to drive along the sands to Saundersfoot, but they arrived too late at Laugharne to make use of the spring tide, so had to traverse "the difficult & dangerous road to Tenby, about 16 miles".

"For the first half mile I did not think it possible the Horses could have kept their legs, or that the wheels, tho' strong, could have stood the jolts amongst the rocks. At one time I thought all was over, but after that our chief danger seemed passed, & we proceeded an incredibly fatiguing, Hilly & uninteresting Journey to Tenby where we did not arrive till 11 at night, having been incessantly toiling 7 hours to accomplish 16 miles, during which Mrs. C. & myself from necessity were obliged to walk nearly half the way. . . . Within 5 or 6 miles of the Haven where we would be the Bay & Town of Tenby were seen to great advantage from the High Terrace on which the



road is made. But the most beautiful scenery loses its effect when both mind & body are fatigued, as it seemed doubtful if the Horses cd. accomplish the Journey ”.

At length the wearied and agitated travellers reached Shaw’s Hotel at eleven at night, where they were comforted with “the finest Prawns ever tasted” and good accommodation.

“In the morning the effects of the rugged road were visible both upon the Horses and Carriage, the Horses’ shoulders being chafed & swelled, & the Carriage scratched on both Pannels by being thrown against the wheels in the rocky parts of the road ”.

With regard to their reception by the people of Wales, Mr. Cullum comments :—

“During the whole Journey we have met with civility from the Lower Orders, & always ready to give us any information when they could speak English, which we found by no means generally spoken till we arrived in the neighbourhood of Tenby. I should think they were a curious (*i.e.*, inquisitive) set of people, by one instance I met with as I was walking behind the Carriage at Langharne. An old woman asked me point blank where I came from, as she saw some relation was dead in the family by being all in deep mourning ”.

No doubt the question was prompted by the black clerical dress which the writer was wearing.

“Left Tenby after passing three weeks in the most pleasant manner. The Company in the House consisted of about 12 people, as the vacancies were generally filled up immediately. The Company who sleep in the House do not exceed 9, as it does not appear more than three families can be accommodated with a sitting room, & without it the inconvenience of the Public room (which is the principal Thoroughfare for all in the House to the

sea-side) could not be submitted to. . . . The expences for Board & Lodging are much about the same as at Cheltenham, tho' it at first appears Less, as you do not know all your expences till the Bill is delivered, as there are always a number of *etceteras*''.

From Tenby the Cullums made expeditions to Caldey Island, Carew, Manorbier, and Lamphey, where the ruined palace seems to have quite fascinated Mr. Cullum. A fairly long account is given of Caldey Island, though its ancient priory is not so much mentioned. A curious description is given of the taking of rabbits on the island.

“The way the rabbits are caught is very simple, no nets or traps being used. They are caught by taking out the plugs at the bottom of the stone walls in the evening, & as the rabbits are sure to enter to feed upon the fresh Herbage, they then stop up the Holes, & the rabbits are easily caught in the enclosures”.

Again, as to Caldey the Diary continues :—

“The Rocks are chiefly lime stone from which a great profit is derived, but it is supposed that the owner, Mr. Kynaston, is losing money by burning the Lime on the island, instead of shipping off the stone as was usually done. About 16 years since Mr. K. bought the Island for £3,000, & has since been offered £10,000 for it, but asks £12,000. There is a good House upon the Island where Mr. K. constantly resides”.

Concerning Manorbier Castle there is an allusion to the smuggling which had recently been carried on there on a large scale.

“Of late years the Castle has been appropriated to Smuggling, on a most daring scale. The person concerned having hired the Castle of the farmer, & having built a House contiguous, used to fill the subterranean apartments & towers with spirits. A number of casks were

soon discovered floating in the Reservoir. At last, after several seizures, this illicit Trade was put a stop to by Ld. Cawdor,<sup>1</sup> who was nearly killed in the attempt''.

Of course Mr. Cullum was informed that the (to him) puzzling place-name of Manorbier was derived from an ancient conflict between a man and a bear, but naturally he failed to find any confirmation of this story.

Another day was spent in an excursion to Pembroke and to Stackpole Court, the seat of Lord Cawdor. At Stackpole "the Garden was the chief Temptation to the visitors of Tenby, as you not only *see* but *taste* the Produce of the fine Hot-houses. The Gardener, by permission of his Lordship, not only supplying us liberally while we were there, but gave us a very fine dessert of Peaches & Grapes to take away with us''.

Leaving Tenby on July 27th, our travellers went to Pembroke, and, having sent their coach and horses over the ferry at Hobb's Point, they took boat to Milford Haven.

"We were much gratified with our view of the neat white Town of Milford, which has rose in the course of thirty years to its present consequence. The new Hotel, called Nelson's Hotel, has a fine appearance from the water, & the Houses & Warehouses have an unusual magnificent appearance for Wales''.

From Milford the Cullums drove to stay with Colonel Scourfield<sup>2</sup> at Robertson Hall, where they found Colonel

<sup>1</sup> John Campbell, of Stackpole Court and of Golden Grove, formerly M.P. for Cardigan, had been raised to the peerage as Baron Cawdor of Castlemartin, co. Pembroke, in 1796. At the date of the Fishguard Invasion of 1797 he had commanded the local Yeomanry.

<sup>2</sup> William Henry Scourfield, of The Mote and Robertson Hall, M.P. for Haverfordwest. Mrs. Scourfield had been Maria Goat, of Brent Ely Hall, Suffolk; hence no doubt the acquaintanceship. "Goat Street" in Haverfordwest, probably recalls her name. The

and Mrs. Philipps amongst his guests. Thence they visited Picton Castle, and afterwards drove on to Haverfordwest, with which town they were much disappointed.

“ The Public Walk, so much extolled by Mrs. Morgan,<sup>2</sup> leads to the ruins of a convent situated in the bottom near the River; but neither the ruin or the walk at all answer her description. Happening to meet Mr. Mathias, a gentleman we had dined with at Col. Scourfield's, & I suppose a magistrate, as the doors of the Castle flew open at his approach (we entered). But it has nothing of interest remaining, & what might otherwise be admired is defaced by the prevailing taste of the country in whitewashing all their buildings both antient & modern, even the Roofs of Houses, & at Llannon the very bars of the grate in our bed room were whitened. If I may judge from the long range of Lime Kilns, looking like so many broken towers of antient walls, a considerable trade must be carried on in Lime ”.

From Haverfordwest to Tavernspite, where they slept at “ a small but comfortable Inn, tho' we were annoyed a little before we went to bed with the sulphurous smell when they made up the fire, which (it) is customary to do before the family goes to bed in most parts of South Wales. We experienced the same smell in a less degree at Tenby. I had the curiosity to go into the kitchen at Tenby to see the method they have of keeping in the fire all night, which they do by plastering over the composition which they usually burn of small coal, or Culm, as it is called, mixed up & formed into balls with one third

Phillipps's were Owen Phillipps of Williamston, who had married Elizabeth Anne Scourfield, sister of Col. Scourfield.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Mary Morgan, authoress of *A Tour to Milford Haven in the Year 1791*.

clay. At night it is put on about the consistency of Mortar, & a few air Holes are made with the poker to prevent the fire being smothered ”.

After spending a couple of nights at Carmarthen, they reached Llandilo, where they lodged at the Bear. Mr. Cullum notes all the points of interest *en route*, and is full of admiration for the sylvan scenery of the Vale of Towy. He considers that better care is taken of the timber in South Wales than in England.

“ Trees of all descriptions seem more taken care of in Wales than in England, a Pollard being hardly ever seen, & the trees are judiciously pruned, not like the trees in many parts of England like a Cabbage stuck upon a May Pole, or left with long stumps like the teeth of a rake ”.

The Cullums were charmed with Dynevor Castle and its park.

“ Here I had a good deal of conversation with the Gardener who happened to come from near Woodbridge in Suffolk. From him I learnt that the wages in this country are astonishing low, Ld. Dynevor not paying his labourers either in the garden or farm more than 7 shillings a week, which is the general custom of the country, without any perquisite of beer or anything whatever. But, small as this sum may appear, to the proprietor it is not so much gain as might be supposed, as the labour they do in comparison with an English labourer, who is better fed, nearly makes up for the additional sum he is paid.—This beautiful country, apparently a terrestrial Paradise, the Gardener told me was so subject to rain that both fruit & vegetables frequently failed ”.

After a visit to Carreg Cennen Castle, the road to which was “ as execrably bad, if possible, as the road from Laugharne to Tenby ”, the Cullums went to spend a day with Colonel McClary at Manoravon, some five

miles from Llandilo. Here they met Mr. Pugh, "a great farmer", and the Rev. Mr. Lewis.

"Mrs. McClary, hearing we were not very comfortably accomodated at the Bear, as the bed was so full of Bugs it was in vain to think of sleeping, insisted we should stay (at Manoravon) for the night",—an invitation which was evidently accepted with true thankfulness. Leaving their kind host and hostess next day, the Cullums drove to Llandovery, where on visiting the castle they learned that a large tower had fallen to earth only a month before their arrival. From Llandovery they had "a most beautiful & romantic drive" to Trecastle, "one of the most interesting drives we have met with in Wales, the road meandering through beautiful woods of Oak with a clear stream running upon a bed of rock. The Hedges were principally composed of Birch, which gave a light & elegant effect to the scenery".

From Trecastle to Brecon, where they passed a very wet day, so saw little of the town. From Brecon they proceeded to Myrthir (*sic*) over eighteen miles of hilly road in rainy weather. They entered Merthyr Tydfil on a Saturday evening.

"Wishing to lose no time, we stopped at the Large Works of Mr. Crawshay<sup>1</sup> & sent the carriage to the Crown at Myrthir. We were shewn the Works by a person who formerly worked in them, & most fortunately a son of Mr. Crawshay, without any introduction, most kindly undertook to shew & explain them. The overshot wheel of these works is of cast iron, cost £4000, & is the largest in the world. The furnaces were shewn us to the greatest advantage, as we looked down one which was not working.

<sup>1</sup> Richard Crawshay, "an iron-master from London", who about 1784 took over the Cyfartthfa Works from Mr. Tanner, who had succeeded Mr. Anthony Bacon in this venture.

I do not remember the depth, but I was quite astonished at it. . . . The Blast of the Furnace is worked by a steam engine of 30 Horse Power, & by taking off the Cap in one part of the Apparatus, you feel the tremendous blast. The building where the furnace is placed, is very elegant in its form, & is perhaps the only building in the world which has a compleat iron roof. Iron is here converted into every possible use, even iron barges, which are supposed will soon be very generally used. They have just erected at these works a wheel with rollers for crushing the stone from which they make the fire bricks. It had only just been set in motion when we were there.

“ But the grand scene was reserved for the last. At about  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 10 at night we were informed by Mr. Crawshay who came down on purpose, that the large Furnace was just going to be tapped, which takes place every 12 hours. Before this takes place it is a most dusty operation to prepare the Sow & Pigs for the reception of the Liquid Iron. After a laborious & excessive hot work in knocking in the plug, the Liquid Iron ran majestically slow & emitting the most beautiful Sparks. The heat as it approaches you is intense, but I bore it better than I expected. Mrs. C. kept at a distance, but had an equally fine view. . . .

“ Immense fortunes have been made in the different Works; Mr. Homfrays has just retired, & Mr. Crawshay from a very humble beginning died lately worth above £200,000. But a fortune is dearly earnt in this Place, which to reside in must be one of the most disagreeable places in the Kingdom. It is very cold & exposed from its high situation to the western blast, without any neighbourhood but the masters of the Works, & without any society from the frequent disputes they have among one another about the right of Water, or the supposed en-

croachments in their subterranean works. These things combined with the disagreeable smoaky situation of the place must render a residence here a perfect Banishment, & so indeed the young man who shewed us the works seemed to think it ”.

From Merthyr the Cullums would have liked to visit the Falls of Pont Neath Vychan, but they found the accommodation of the Crown Inn “ too filthy to think of staying another day for that purpose ”. So they decided to push on to the house of their friend, Colonel Capper, of Cathays. On their way to Cardiff the travellers for the second time visited Pontypridd and its graceful bridge, and were enchanted with the beauty of the scenery in the valley of the Taff, especially around Quaker’s Yard. After spending a few days at Colonel Capper’s hospitable house, and visiting his model farm, the Cullums left Cardiff on Friday, August 9th, in order to return home by way of Newport and New Passage.

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# Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1515-1690, in the National Library of Wales and Elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

## A REVIEW

BY PROF. CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL, M.A., D.LIT.

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IN 1787 Horace Walpole wrote of the recently published Paston Letters that to him they made all other letters not worth reading. No one in 1927 is likely to say the same of the Wynn Papers, and yet the publication of the long-expected *Calendar* is an event which gladdens the heart of students of Welsh history. The *Calendar* gives the substance not only of those Wynn Papers which, through the generosity of Sir John Williams and Sir Herbert Lewis, have found a permanent home in the National Library, but also of that portion of the family papers which once formed part of the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps and are now preserved in the Cardiff Public Library. An appendix contains ten letters reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1781, 1789, 1790 and 1793. No *Calendar* can of course have the interest and value of full transcripts, but the work in this case has been so well done that it is possible to follow with unflagging interest the story of the Wynn family for a hundred and seventy-five years.

The first letter in the collection is one from Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, sister of Henry VIII, to John ap

<sup>1</sup> Aberystwyth, The National Library of Wales. Cardiff, The University of Wales Press Board. London, Humphrey Milford. 1926.

Meredith of Gwydir, grandfather of Sir John Wynn, the outstanding figure of the family, well described by Mr. Ballinger as "aggressive, proud and domineering, more dreaded than beloved, yet a great personage". The last letter, written some time before 1700, mentions Sir John Wynn of Watstay, grandson of the old Sir John. The intervening letters and papers tell us much about the second generation. Sir John of Gwydir (created Baronet in 1611) had a numerous family, most of whom, like their father, were not loth to take pen in hand. Three of the sons spent some time abroad. The eldest, Sir John Wynn who was knighted in 1613, "sought the good of his country by travel"; he was in France and Italy in 1614 and died at Lucca, leaving one daughter who died in infancy. Richard Wynn, afterwards the second baronet, went on a longer and more famous journey; he accompanied Prince Charles to Madrid and came back convinced that "Castile and Arragon together are not worth one of the worst counties of Wales. Henceforth he will believe everything reported of another country rather than go and see it". Maurice Wynn, the business man of the family, was apprenticed to a merchant in Hamburg, where he lived from 1618 to 1624: his letters on political and economic conditions in Germany are extremely interesting. In later life he was Receiver General for North Wales and contrived to amass a considerable fortune. The remaining five sons who grew to manhood (two died in childhood) never seem to have crossed the Channel. Owen Wynn, eventually the third Baronet after the death of Sir Richard in 1649, went with his brother Robert to Eton and then to St. John's College, Cambridge. Robert died in early manhood, but Owen lived till 1660, was Sheriff of Carnarvon and Denbigh, had some literary interests and also dabbled in alchemy and mineralogy. He

married a niece of Lord Keeper Williams and the dispute about her jointure forms the subject of numerous letters; these certainly do not raise our opinion of Williams' honesty, however highly we may rate his sagacity. Owen had a son Richard, who became the fourth Baronet, and had a daughter Mary, who married Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby. William, after studying at Cambridge, gained a post under the Master of the Wards and Wardrobe and was ultimately Prothonotary of Wales. Ellis, a student of Gray's Inn, died of consumption in 1619. Henry, the youngest brother, is mentioned very often in the letters: in the spring of 1623 he travelled to Portsmouth with Sir Richard and other members of the family, including his brother William, who wrote home an amusing account of a trip in a small boat and of Henry Wynn's attempt to prevent sea-sickness, he being "no stout seaman". By his wife, Catrin Lloyd, Henry had one son, Sir John Wynn of Watstay, the fifth Baronet. Besides his long array of sons Sir John Wynn of Gwydir had two daughters—Mary, who was the wife of Sir Roger Mostyn, and Elizabeth, who married first Sir John Bodvel and secondly John Thelwall. Lady Mostyn for a time undertook the care of her niece, the daughter of Sir John who had died at Lucca. Pleasant glimpses of her are to be found in the letters, as when Sir John Wynn writes in 1621 that his daughter Mostyn is come from St. Albans to Barnet, where she met her husband, three brothers, cousin Powell and a number of friends.

The letters of so numerous a family living in such stirring times can hardly fail to contain matter of great and varied interest. All the notable events of English history between 1515 and 1690 save the Reformation under Henry VIII find a place in the *Calendar*. Few English statesmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

turies are missing from the index. Parliamentary affairs are mentioned in considerable detail, especially in the Restoration period, when Sir Richard Wynn, the fourth Baronet, was knight of the shire for Carnarvon. One of his correspondents remarks in 1666 that politicians are like watermen, who look one way and row another. Valuable as the Wynn Papers are for their contribution to English history, they are still more useful for the light they throw on the history of North Wales. The working of the Court of the Marches, the Courts of Great Sessions and Quarter Sessions is elucidated and the corruption prevalent in these local courts is clearly shown. So, too, is the Welsh passion for litigation. There are many complaints in the letters of the poverty of the country, but attorneys evidently were well-to-do. Much information is furnished as to the arrangements for musters, the difficulty in raising the required numbers and preventing desertion. In 1598 Sir Thomas Perrott told the Deputy-Lieutenants of Carnarvonshire that the troops for Ireland must have muskets, not bows, for use against the Spaniards and must wear a red livery, of kersey or Bridgewater cloth, indented with black. There is abundant material for the ecclesiastical history of Wales in the seventeenth century: a characteristic document is the petition in July, 1652, "of many thousands of the six counties of North Wales" praying that able and pious ministers may be provided for their parish churches, "divers parishes having been left vacant on the Lord's Day for two years past without any minister to officiate and administer the Sacraments".

Perhaps the most valuable passages in the letters are those which throw light on the social and economic condition of North Wales. The importance of the cloth manufacture and of the trade in Welsh cattle is abun-

dantly illustrated. The varying views of Welsh gentlemen as to the education of their children are set forth in sundry letters. Sir John Wynn sent his boys to English schools, to Bedford, St. Albans, Westminster and Eton. Sir Roger Mostyn on the other hand wished to educate his sons in Wales. The difficulties in his way in 1613/14 are seen in his description of Hawarden School (p. 101). "Harden in respect of the English tongue is a fit place, and there they may learn to dance, a musician being in the town. But there are very many children there, and the master in some brables with a neighbour and cannot be reconciled; which may hinder the school, for that he is cited before the High Commissioners in London".

The difficulty of communication in Wales is a subject which strikes the reader of the Wynn Papers very forcibly. Carnarvonshire is described in 1595 as "the most rugged unpassable barren country in all Wales, with wild roads". When John Wynn, junior, was trying to secure for his bride the daughter of the rich mercer Sir Baptist Hicks, the answer was that Wales was so remote that he would not match his daughter where he could have no comfort of her. Sir John Wynn, writing in October, 1616, to his son Richard, says that at this season the ways are "deep and unpassable". A correspondent of Maurice Wynn in April, 1654 (No. 2,050), announcing his safe arrival in London, said that his journey was as bad and dangerous as in the depth of winter. Richard Wynn thankfully remarks in December, 1655, that he has at last come to Chirk after only three falls, although his man had five or six. Sir Roger Mostyn, writing to Sir John Wynn at Gwydir in May, 1624, begs him to give Evan Jones charge to mend the way both above and under Penmaen for a coach, lest the weather be foul, so that if they may not take the one way, they may be sure of the other. He

was very doubtful how they could pass from Gloddaeth to Gwydir, for the Judge's wife was weak and could not ride. A recurring subject is the unsafeness of Llanrwst Bridge, which was presented at the General Sessions held at Ruthin in January, 1627, as being in the greatest decay, to the common nuisance of all neighbours and other subjects of the King crossing there. Some fifty years later the bridge had fallen down (No. 2,739) and Sir John Wynn tells the Justices of Carnarvonshire that it must be rebuilt before winter, £100 from each county concerned being sufficient. A little later (1678) the Justices of the Peace had been persuaded to raise £15 for the repair of the bridge. No wonder that, whenever possible, goods were sent by sea or that Sir Richard Wynn's coach was shaken by the "rotten" pavements between Gwydir and Caermelwr.

Several references occur to the carrying of money up to London by drovers, and the carriers of Chester, Denbigh and Llanrwst are occasionally mentioned. Letters were sometimes conveyed under difficulties. The King's instructions to the Carnarvonshire Justices for levying subsidies in 1626 were brought to the Bishop of Bangor from Ludlow by a poor footman; the back edge of the letter was worn out by reason of his coming through the rain without a cloak. Forty years later Sir Richard Wynn wrote to his wife at Gwydir that the drunkenness of the postmaster of Denbigh would force him out of his place.

Readers of the *Calendar* will be grateful for the excellent indexes of persons, places and subjects which extend from pp. 435 to 506. They would have been grateful, too, for a genealogical table of the Wynns and some of the families with which they were connected.<sup>1</sup> To the list

<sup>1</sup> A genealogical table such as the one mentioned by Prof. Skeel will be found appended to the next article by Miss M. F. Hall.—*V.E.*

of *Corrigenda* on pp. xix and xx the following should be added :—

No. 1,625, 2nd column, l. 17 from end, for “ wia ” read “ was ”.

No. 1,984, l. 2, for *Eligit* read *Elegit*.

p. 491, s.v. Middlesbrough, read Middelburg.

p. 498, s.v. Canary Company, for 2,480 read 2,482.

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# The Wynn Papers (1515-1690).<sup>1</sup>

A RESUME AND AN APPRECIATION.

By

MISS MARJORIE FOLJAMBE HALL, F.R.Hist.S.

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THE historical value and national interest of the Wynn Papers, promised by the belated publication, in 1770, of Sir John Wynn's "History of the Gwydir Family", has been confirmed in recent years by the scholarly researches of Professor Caroline Skeel. But the full extent of these resources would not have been revealed to historical students, had it not been for the generous assistance of the first two Presidents of the National Library of Wales, and the intelligent direction of its first librarian.

The instructive account of the vicissitudes of the Gwydir muniments given in the official Introduction to the Calendar of the Wynn Papers, shows very clearly the danger that is incurred by placing private archives at the disposal of local antiquaries or other privileged persons, though unfortunately the lesson is not easily learnt.

The historical interest of this collection is of a varied nature. Perhaps its contributions to the political history of the realm will seem most important in respect of references to the machinery of local government, which has only received adequate attention during the period of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's scholarly activities.

Important also are the various *data* supplied for the information of students of economic and social history, in connection with which students may be reminded of the remarkable series of Household Accounts of Sir Henry

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers, 1519-1690, in the National Library of Wales and Elsewhere.* 1926.



Sidney as Lord President of Wales and the Marches, which has been calendared in a recent Report by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

There are naturally many personal notices of the Wynn family, and the more important of these too will be mentioned here in order of time.

#### NOTICES OF POLITICAL EVENTS.

There are few papers of importance during the reign of Henry VIII. We have a letter from Mary of France, dated from Tattershall Castle, 5th June, 1515 (scarcely one month after her marriage with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk), commanding John Wyn ap Meredith of Gwydir, grandfather of the historian, to send her any "marlyns" that may be in those parts. It is not quite clear whether the Princess was desirous of obtaining hawks, or some of the famous Welsh ponies.

It is, perhaps, disappointing to find that the years which saw the separation from Rome and the establishment of Protestantism in this country, are passed over in silence. Possibly this confirms the opinion held by most Welsh historians, that Wales was not impregnated with the new religion until a much later period.

In connection with the Scottish war and the defeat of James V. at Solway Moss, we read that in September, 1542, Sir Richard Bulkeley of Beaumaris, Chamberlain of North Wales and Sheriff of Anglesey, received £25 of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir "for horses and arms in the King's service"; a loan which may not have been repaid, because Parliament, in 1544, released the King from his obligations in this respect. There is also a reference to the French wars of 1544/5, in a Signet Letter issued to procure a "benevolence" for the purpose of carrying on this campaign.

During the reign of Edward VI vigorous measures were taken to maintain law and order in Wales. In 1550/1 the Earl of Pembroke issued instructions to the Sheriff and Justices of Carnarvonshire for the prevention of unlawful assemblies and the frequenting of ale-houses and taverns during the hours of divine service. Justices of the Peace were ordered to be present at fairs and to "take direction for preserving order in the country".

The Marian régime, with its return to the old Faith, is represented by a letter, dated September 18th, 1553, from Archbishop Heath, then Lord President of the Council of the Marches of Wales, to John Wyn ap Meredith, Sheriff of Carnarvonshire, and others, desiring them to elect members for the Parliament which was to meet on the 20th of October, who were to be "grave men and of good and honest haviour, order and conversation, and especially of Catholique religion, which sort of well-ordered men are most meet to consult upon the good order and state of the Realm".

During the French Wars of 1557/8, which ended so disastrously in the loss of Calais, we find that John Wyn ap Meredith was appointed Collector of Royal Loans in co. Carnarvon, and that he was commanded to deliver the monies to Richard Wilbram, Master of the Jewel House.

Public events during Elizabeth's reign are only meagrely represented here. The re-establishment of Protestantism and the consequent restoration of first-fruits and tenths to the Crown, are briefly referred to in a letter from Dr. John Gwynne (Wynn), afterwards Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, to his father, John Wyn ap Meredith. This letter, in Latin, was written at a time when Gwynne was a student of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, enjoyed large pos-

sessions in Denbighshire, but it appears from several papers in this collection that the royal favourite was by no means popular in the Principality. In particular, he was, between the years 1573 and 1579, involved in a dispute arising out of the inclosure of part of the Forest of Snowdon, in connection with which he had occasion to counsel his adversaries<sup>1</sup> to show themselves to be men living under law, for in the end he would "have his right against them". There is a letter dated 18th June, 1580, from Dr. Ellis Price of Plas Iolyn, popularly known as "the Red Doctor", to William Thomas, of Carnarvon, whom he calls his "son",<sup>2</sup> in which he mentions the "furtherance of my Lord's<sup>3</sup> service". He further advises Thomas to "take a copy of the process and to execute the same against some of the persons", adding that it is impossible to "have it served at one time against such a number or multitude of persons". This letter refers possibly to the execution of the writs issued against those who resisted Leicester's tyranny. On the other hand it may refer to the promulgation of the active measures against Catholics which commenced in that year. There is a Privy Council Order<sup>4</sup> of even date with Dr. Price's letter, addressed to Lord President Eure, instructing him "to cause the Commission Ecclesiastical

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Bulkeley was foremost amongst those who opposed the Earl's arbitrary proceedings. For an account of the whole matter see John Williams' "*Ancient and Modern Denbigh*".

<sup>2</sup> His eldest son Thomas Price, the poet, married Margaret, one of the daughters of Edmund Griffith of Carnarvon. William Thomas who married her sister Ellin, served under Leicester in the Netherlands, and was slain at the battle of Zutphen in 1586.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Ellis Price took an active share in promoting Leicester's interests in the matter of the Forest of Snowdon and his unpopularity in Wales is probably due to that fact. It is therefore possible that, in speaking of "my Lord" he refers to his patron, and not to Lord President Enre.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, n.s., vol. 12 (1580-81) p. 59.

remaining in his hands to be in like sort put in execution [against Catholics], letting him understand the offence her Majesty taketh that the same hath rested now a whole year within that province undealt or proceeded in". A careful study of the whole subject would doubtless elucidate the context of Dr. Price's letter.

Nevertheless, many of the Earl's Welsh tenants and neighbours were ready to follow him in his expedition to assist the Protestants of the Low Countries to throw off the yoke of Spain, and Sir John Wynn in his "History" says that many Welshmen fought under Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen. In a letter dated 26 September, 1585, Leicester calls upon John Wynn of Gwydir to serve under him in the Low Countries and to furnish himself with a good horse, armour and as many lances as he could raise. We have no proof, however, that Wynn responded to the summons in person.

Meanwhile Wales was already arming against the threatened Spanish invasion. On June 20, 1588, Pembroke, then Lord President of Wales, wrote to John Wynn of Gwydir and William Morris of Clenneney, the Deputy Lieutenants of Carnarvonshire, enclosing the Privy Council letters, informing them that the Spanish fleet had been seen in the Bay of Biscay, and instructing them to call up the trained bands, under pain of 40 days' imprisonment. There was also to be a view of arms and preparation of beacons. A provost-marshal was to be appointed to apprehend "all authors of false rumours and reports which distract the minds of the people and spread confusion throughout the country". On July 5th the Council sent a very sharp letter to the deputy lieutenants, stating that it was reported that Edward Williams, captain of cannon, was not yet ready with his "ancient" and drum, and that William Williams of Cochwillan had,

as yet, made no show of horse and foot, while others were backward in Carnarvonshire, "which is not to be suffered at this time of danger".

There are several letters of musters during this anxious period when the hated Spaniard might at any time have descended upon our shores. In one of these letters, dated 6th September, 1590 (the year which saw the fortification of Milford Haven), it is stated that "the Spanish navy, though very great, has been stayed at sea. Yet the Spanish king has been making great preparations by building new ships on the north coast of Spain, as well as in the Indies". In December of the same year, the Earl of Pembroke wrote to the Council of the Marches desiring them to levy the sum of £300 assessed upon the County of Carnarvonshire (to which the clergy also contributed) for the provision of arms. A few years later we have more letters of musters to raise troops for Ireland during Tyrone's rebellion. On 2nd October, 1595, Pembroke wrote to the deputy lieutenants of Carnarvonshire informing them of the appointment of John Owen as muster master and trainer of forces in co. Carnarvon, at a yearly salary of £30, with travelling money. On the following day he wrote again instructing them in the matter of the provision of powder, and the purchase of arms through Mr. Grovener, who apparently held a government monopoly in that commodity. In another letter we learn that Owen complained to the Council that he had not received his fee; whereupon the deputy lieutenants were enjoined "to pay arrears and to pay hereafter regularly". In the preface to the official calendar of the Acts of the Privy Council<sup>1</sup> it is stated that these musters were enforced with much difficulty in Wales, and this is confirmed by a letter dated 3rd June, 1596, in which the writer complains of

<sup>1</sup> *N.S.*, vol. xxv, 1595-6, p. xix.

the remissness of the country people who, when "pressed for her Majesty's service, do contemptuously run away and make default". He even suggests that "if the punishment be not in some degree capital, they will venture any imprisonment rather than go for the Irish service, where they hear of so bad usage of soldiers". The number of desertions due to these conditions alarmed the Privy Council and, on 3rd May, 1597, instructions were issued for the apprehension and punishment of Welsh soldiers returning home from Ireland without passports. In connection with this order we have a correspondence between the Council and John Wynn of Gwydir (in his office of deputy lieutenant of Carnarvonshire) with regard to the commitment of one John Williams on a charge of desertion.

On June 12th, 1596, a petition was presented by Sir Richard Bulkeley on behalf of the inhabitants of Anglesey<sup>1</sup> stating that in consequence of the number of recruits levied in Anglesey for service in Ireland it was found that there were not enough men left to defend the island. Bulkeley's courage and loyalty are exemplified in a letter to John Wynn of Gwydir, dated 23rd August, 1599: "So long", he declares, "as the Spanish navy is upon the coast, I may not come out of this isle which, with God's help, I will keep—or make it my grave".

That the provision of grain for the Irish garrisons was a heavy burden is shown by a dispatch, dated November 10th, 1597, from the deputy lieutenants of Carnarvonshire, expressing satisfaction that "a man-of-war laden with corn is come aground in Anglesey", since they had been forced, "for want of corn to buy from other countries". On 1st November, 1598, Sir Thomas Perrott sent instructions to the deputy lieutenants for the better arm-

<sup>1</sup> See also *Acts of Privy Council*, vol. xxv, 1595-6, p. 449.

ing of the troops for Ireland, " seeing that they are to go against the Spaniards, who use great store of muskets, their bows must be changed for muskets, or other shot, and their brown bills for halberds ".

This was the campaign projected by Philip III in 1599, which was, however, finally diverted by the Dutch attack in the Canaries. The threatened Spanish invasion resulted in a general mobilisation throughout England and Wales, while all the coast towns were fortified and strongly garrisoned.

There are no papers which relate to Scotland during this reign. There is, however, a letter, dated 28th March, 1601, from Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Thomas Mostyn and John Wynn of Gwydir on behalf of " the bearer David Dempster, a Scottish man and stranger in these parts, who has been robbed and roughly used by the country people ". Cecil desires them to make a levy for the poor man's benefit and to protect his person from any violence, and " this at the earnest representation of the King of Scots' ambassador, whereof the Queen is bound in honour to take regard ".

There are papers which relate to the indictment of John and Nicholas Hookes of Conway, charged with taking part in Essex's rebellion in 1601.<sup>1</sup>

Church matters during this reign are represented by papers relating to the contribution by the clergy of furniture of war, and by the proceedings of the Privy Council against recusants. The vigorous persecution of Catholics as " Papists ", which characterised the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, is reflected in a few Privy Council Papers. In December, 1593, Pembroke is urged to dis-

<sup>1</sup> It seems that they were acquitted, for we find that Nicholas Hookes died 27 March, 1637, while John Hookes, probably his half-brother, died 11 Feb., 1609. See *Registers of Conway* (ed. A. Hadley) and J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*.

cover what sons of gentlemen are educated abroad, "for it is daily, by dangerous experience, found that the duration of such in foreign parts doth breed corruption in religion and manners, amongst the better sort of Her Majesty's subjects"; and in a letter to his deputy lieutenants Pembroke states that he conceives that they will be aided by the Bishop and Register, whose help they are to demand. There is also a letter, dated 26th May, 1601, from William Morgan, Bishop of Llandaff, to John Wynn of Gwydir, which shows a very friendly spirit and was written before the Bishop's famous quarrel with his patron. In this letter Morgan refers to his prospective translation to the see of St. Asaph.

The relations between the English primacy and the established church in Wales were even in those days tinged with suspicion and jealousy. In a letter, dated 22nd November, 1568, to his brother Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, Dr. John Gwynn<sup>1</sup> records a conversation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, which concerned the lease of the Prebend of Llanfair, claimed by the Wynns of Gwydir. The Archbishop refused to admit the existence of such a lease, adding that he knew "the manner of that country [Wales] how false and subtle they be; they can forge a Chapter seal when they like".

There are constant allusions to the protection afforded to murderers and felons by the administrators of the law, who themselves often claimed kinship with the offenders. On 28th January, 1602/3, Zouche wrote sharply to John Wynn of Gwydir, then Sheriff of Carnarvonshire, complaining that he had been given to understand that Ellis, the son of one Robert Wynn, had, in the previous November, been murdered by William ap Thomas ap Humphry and Anne verch Jhon his wife, and that the murderers

<sup>1</sup> See below (biographical notes).



“ in respect of their friends and kindred are not apprehended, so that they are harboured by the Sheriff’s tenants and friends and are seen openly in market towns in the day time ”. The Sheriff’s excuse, that he had not received his commission at the time of the murder, is not perhaps convincing.

The Queen’s illness, which ended in her death on March 22nd, 1602/3, caused her Council anxiety lest the rumours as to her serious condition, which were already in circulation, might lead to riots and disturbances in some parts of the country. On March 16th, 1602/3, they wrote to Lord Zouche, then Lord President of Wales, instructing him to take orders for the suppression of “ all uncertain and evil rumours concerning the state of her Majesty’s health, or of ought else thereunto appertaining, and for the prevention and redress of all unlawful assemblies, actions and disorderly attempts that such rumours may breed there in the country about you ”.

There are not many noticeable papers relating to public events in Wales during the reign of James I. In 1603 we continue to have complaints with regard to the non-payment of the muster-master’s allowances. The plague which raged in London is not mentioned in the entries for that year; but, in November, 1605, we have a spirited controversy between Sir John Wynn of Gwydir and Sir John Salusbury as to the right of Llanddogged and other infected parishes to be exempted from contribution to the relief of the infected town of Denbigh; there is also the copy of a letter, possibly from John Wynn of Gwydir to the Bishop of St. Asaph, complaining that owing to the number of burials “ the air inside the church has become so pestilential and noisome that, for a month’s space or more, most of the better sort of the parish refuse to come there ”.

The committal of Cobham, Raleigh and Gray, the Gunpowder Plot and the conference at Hampton Court (1605) are referred to in letters from Welshmen in London to their friends and relations in North Wales. Parliament's refusal to grant a supply forced James to raise a loan. In August, 1604, the Privy Council appointed John Wynn of Gwydir as Collector of Loans for co. Carnarvon, and, in December of the same year, Wynn wrote to Zouche complaining that Sir William Morris was the only man in that county who had not paid; adding that "the country in general is poor and every man makes an outward show, so that they are more ready to borrow than to lend". The reluctance of the country to contribute to this loan is shown in other papers; while in July, 1606, Lord Treasurer Dorset wrote to Wynn complaining that he had specified neither the names of those from whom he had collected loans nor the dates in which payment was made. There is also an interesting reference to a petition for the payment of portage money to the bearers of Privy Seals for the royal loan. We are reminded of the Bill against purveyance and wardship (which the Commons abandoned in June, 1604) by an Order dated 8th July, 1605, appointing Thomas Whitaker, yeoman, to the office of purveyor of wax within the King's Spicery. The amount of wax to be furnished by the several Welsh counties is appended to this document.

The long dispute which ended in the exclusion of the four border shires from the jurisdiction of the Council of the Marches and the violent opposition to this measure by Lord Zouche is alleged to have been the cause of his resignation. We read in a letter dated 18th July, 1606, from Sir Richard Lewknor, the Chief Justice of Chester, to Sir Thomas Mostyn, a member of the Council of the Marches, that the former had been occupied in altering

the laws of the Council of the Marches "by which the punishment of incest and adultery are left out, as well as some penal laws, and torturing and racking the body". The writer adds that this alteration has so discontented the Lord President that he would not stay till the end, "making the most solemn vow not to serve in that office again . . . . vowing he would rot in prison before serving there again".

The general discontent at the favours showered by the King on his Scottish favourites is referred to in a letter from Sir John Wynn, dated from London in May, 1612: in which he complains of the high prices and adds that "the world is so set to save that no man spends except he must, and especially the English. The Scot may and doth spend all he listeth, yet everyone is in debt, save the usurer and lawyer".

There are numerous references to the war in the Palatinate, the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, and the death of Prince Henry, as well as to other events of this reign. In 1621 we read of the exploits of Welshmen in the Palatinate. Sir Gerard Herbert, a kinsman of the Earl of Pembroke, was killed in a valiant attempt to defend Heidelberg Castle against Count Tilly. Sir Thomas Wynn of Melai was killed in the siege of Breda under the Earl of Oxford. Colonel Morgan was the English commander at Breda in September, 1624. Other references are to Thomas Glynne's brother, an "ancient", and to Richard Mostyn, a captain under Count Mansfeldt; while Peter Pennant's son Roger is "Dick" Mostyn's "ancient", and Sir John Wynn's "old servant Robin Price" served as lieutenant under Mostyn. We read also of the drastic punishment of Edward Lloyd, of Llwyn y Maen, for speaking against the Palsgrave and the Princess Elizabeth. This unhappy man was fined £5,000, condemned

to perpetual imprisonment in Newgate, and ordered to ride on a horse with his face to the tail, with papers on his breast and back stating his offence. He was further ordered to stand in pillory at Cheapside and Westminster and to have K branded with hot iron on his forehead. He was sentenced to be whipped along the streets, but that was remitted. He was, moreover, degraded of his gentry and his coat of arms was taken from him.

An interesting reference to the English plantation in Virginia is given in a letter dated 12th July, 1622; the writer states that "the savages have slain 329 Englishmen. An Englishwoman, seeing the barbarians approach her house, seized up a musket without shot and rode, with her maid, through the natives who dared not approach them".

A number of letters, for the year 1624, from Henry Wynn to his father Sir John give a detailed description of the trial and conviction of "Doctor"<sup>1</sup> John Lambe, the astrologer, as well as of the proceedings of Parliament at this period. There are also references to the French marriage treaty.

Stern measures were taken during this reign to enforce law and order throughout Wales. Writing to the Justices of the Assize for co. Denbigh in April, 1616, Sir Francis Bacon expresses concern on hearing that "a foul murder has been committed . . . which is like to be smothered up by the friends of the offenders", and adjures them to have "justice duly administered" . . . and "to have some eye to this cause whereby any sinister course for the burying or smothering of this foul murder may be re-

<sup>1</sup> The protection afforded to the "doctor" by Buckingham gave rise to the following couplet:

"Let Charles and George do what they can,  
The Duke shall die like Dr. Lambe".

moved ". And, in 1617, Sir John Wynn, writing to the Lord President Gerard, shortly after the entry of the latter into office, warns him against employing those " given to drink, swaggering and other vices ". In another letter Sir John complains of the scarcity of Justices of the Peace in co. Denbigh, with the consequent increase in felonies; and writing in September, 1624, he observes that the Justices for North Wales, " acting with lenity and mercy (considering the extremity of the famine) purged the gaols last year, dismissing the prisoners upon bond, who like a nest of wasps are scattered up and down the country, working much mischief ".

Church matters are represented by disputes between lay patrons of livings and their bishops, with regard to the right of presentation. In 1623, the Bishop of Bangor complained that Sir John Bodvel objected to a curate installed by the bishop at Archdeacon Prys's recommendation, desiring to place " that lewd Pritchard " there. Lord Keeper Williams took the matter up and wrote to the Bishop, as he explains, " in his own hand ", in the midst " not only of term but of far greater business ", so sensible is he of the " indignities offered to a poor churchman ". Sir John Wynn was constantly engaged in dispute with one or other of the Welsh bishops. His famous quarrel with William Morgan, Bishop of St. Asaph, has been referred to already, and is fully represented in this Calendar. Later in the reign Sir John disputed the right of Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, to place his son, John Bayly, in the living of Llanfair. There is also a letter, dated August 12th, 1621, from Lewis Bayly to Sir John Wynn, written during the Bishop's confinement in the Fleet Prison. We have a note, in Sir John's handwriting, of the days on which divine service was not held at Trefriw or Llanrhychwyn; this interference in church

affairs is characteristic of the old baronet, whose autocratic disposition constantly brought him into contest with the ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover, it is believed that Sir John took active measures for the suppression of recusancy and that he hunted down the Catholics with relentless zeal. Sir William Thomas, his co-deputy lieutenant in Carnarvonshire, refers to Hugh Moris, clerk, of Trefriw, and other reputed Papists; while Sir John, in his answer to Thomas's letter, declares that if the man is a Papist he will "lay for him".

On the whole, the papers in this Calendar which relate to Welsh Catholics are not numerous; there are, however, occasional references to the execution of the penal laws against Catholics in general throughout England and Wales.

The most important papers for the reign of Charles I are undoubtedly those which relate to the Civil War. For the earlier part of the reign there are a number which refer to the Plague, to the war between the French king and the Rochellers, to the Treaty of the Hague, and to the Dutch war with Spain. We read, in a letter dated 23rd May, 1625, that on 19th May, 1603, only 22 persons died each week of the Plague in London, whereas on 19th May, 1625, 200 persons died. In 1626, fresh charges were brought against the Bishop of Bangor. "The Duke [of Buckingham] has said that he and the Bishop of Bangor are the only men questioned in Parliament" observes one writer.

The years 1626 to 1630 are represented by letters and papers which clearly illustrate the efforts made by the Welsh people to throw off the oppressive burdens of forced loans and ship-money. There is a list of persons contributing ship-money in Anglesey, showing the amounts paid by each. Moreover, the tenants of the Lordship

of Ruthin petition "to be eased of their Privy Seals". Writing to his father, 16th June, 1626, Owen Wynn says that he wonders "with all the wit they have in Carnarvonshire" that the ship-money has not been levied in that county, and adds that "the Bishop of Bangor is most active in getting money for the King". In a letter to Sir William Thomas, his master, William Spicer says that the Bishop asked him for a note of the Privy Seal men and their assessments. The writer observes that he does not mean to see the Bishop while in London, as he does not wish to be an informer against his countrymen. In another letter to his father, dated 26th May, 1626, Owen Wynn says that four subsidies due from North Wales will be called for shortly, and advises Sir John not to pay, for "the general poverty of the country may acquit them of this great burden". He adds that "Denbighshire men will pay no money".

The years 1630 to 1640 contain few papers which throw light on public events in Wales. In 1639 there are a number of documents relating to the Commission to enquire into the incroachments in the Forest of Snowdon. The inhabitants of Anglesey apparently resented this enquiry, and, on September 24th, appointed Sir Arthur Tyringham to act for them in opposing what they regarded as an attempt to infringe the rights and liberties of the subjects under colour of the royal prerogative.

The impeachment of Strafford and Land in 1641 is described at some length in letters for this year. By August, 1642, the Royalists in Wales were already arming in the King's defence. A letter, dated 6th August, from Captain Thomas Salusbury to Thomas Bulkeley, refers to a meeting of the gentry at Wrexham at which it was agreed to levy the sum of £1,500 to raise an army to defend the royal cause. "The Puritans brag of a great party

in Carnarvonshire ", he writes, " and the ' Swallow ', the ' Rainbow ' and two other ships have forsaken the Earl of Warwick and come over to the King, with 1,200 foot and 5,000 horse and 80 great field pieces, mostly of brass ". Moreover, it was feared that the recusants of Creuddyn would take advantage of the disturbed state of affairs and rise against Conway, while in a letter dated 12th November, 1641, the Dean of Bangor reports that " Mistress Holland prays daily for the Irish and Popish recusants ". In October, 1642, the Petres of Greenfield (co. Flint) begged the Wynns of Gwydir to shelter them during those " miserable and troublesome times " ; for it was rumoured that young Hotham was on his way to Chester and " he will not be long in marching into our naked country, for he aims altogether at Flint and Denbigh ".

In 1643 the Commissioners of Array for co. Denbigh authorised Robert Dolben to dig for salt-petre for the manufacture of gunpowder. He is instructed to dig under houses, leaving the floors as he found them. He is also to offer his gunpowder at a reasonable price.

Early in 1644 Prince Rupert sent an imperious demand to Gwydir dated from the Royalist garrison at Shrewsbury, for the payment of £100, a sum alleged to be due from Owen Wynn to the wife of Dr. John Bayly, who had " offered it to the Prince for the King's service ". This debt, " which all the lawyers about the Prince say is as clear as the sun ", was indignantly repudiated by Wynn. Eventually he appears to have complied with the Prince's demands, for we have a letter from Rupert (through the medium of his secretary Hilary Erskine), to Maurice Wynn, stating that his brother Owen Wynn desired him to pay the Prince out of the estate. " Sir, there is no delay to be used in this business, neither will excuses find any place. Money must be had . . . or you will



force his Highness to send for you and him together. And let me tell you, Sir ", the secretary continues threateningly, " it will be conceived by such delays that ye wish too well to the King's enemies . . . and this will cause the late Protestation, which is very strict, to be tendered to you, which if you shall refuse, all your friends must give you up for a lost man in your fortune ".

In spite of the fact that Sir Richard Wynn was a personal friend and servant of the King, the attitude of his two younger brothers was more or less doubtful during the Civil War. This is confirmed by a letter from Owen Wynn to Lord Keeper Williams in January, 1645, mentioning a rumour of a garrison to be kept in Denbighshire, which " cannot be very pleasing to the inhabitants. It seems to be of purpose to drive away me and mine out of these parts ", he complains. It may, however, be conjectured from other letters and papers of this period that Owen Wynn was probably Royalist in sympathy, while his brother Maurice sided with the Parliament.

In April, 1644, Prince Rupert issued letters commanding the payment of tithes " of late absolutely denied or for the present detained, so that the clergy are disabled not only to do his Majesty that service which is required of them, but also to maintain themselves and families ". Failure to comply involved an enforced appearance before a council of war at Shrewsbury. In July of the same year he summoned all the Sheriffs of North Wales to Worcester to confer as to the best means for the defence of North Wales.

There are a number of letters and papers in the handwriting of Archbishop Williams, who held Conway for the King from 1642 until the appointment of Sir John Owen in 1645. On 24th August, 1644, the Archbishop wrote to the Commissioners of Array from Conway stat-

ing that part of a regiment had been removed to Conway and Carnarvon without assignment from the Prince or the Governor, and that the inhabitants refused to receive them until they should receive instructions from the Commissioners as to their maintenance. We gather from the Archbishop's letters that he was already doubtful as to the ultimate success of the Royalists, a state of mind which finally induced him to abandon the King's cause. Writing to Owen Wynn of Gwydir in January, 1645, after the appointment of his enemy Sir John Owen to the command of Conway Castle, the Archbishop says: "I do fear and my mind bodes me of so much trouble to these parts that I dare make no more provision but from hand to mouth. I think (as you do) we shall have no peace, nor yet be suffered to live until the rebels destroy us. Sir John Owen . . . . looks big upon me . . . . is very silent in his designs and is come down with high and strange powers and commissions from the King or Prince Rupert, . . . . to force contributions, to be governor of Conway and Carnarvon . . . . and to do what he and Thelwall think fitting. From the Lord Byron's chafing at this new power given to Owen, I come to hear all which Owen concealeth from me hitherto, and I am afraid that he means to surprise this town and Castle suddenly, and to fill all this country with horse and foot of strangers". In the same letter there is a reference to the Commissioners who were sent to Dublin to treat with the Irish for raising an army for the King. "The Irish Commissioners", he writes, "who passed this way are not heard of at Dublin but are suspected to be cast away in that bark they took at Carnarvon, or to be taken by the Parliamentary ships, concealed under hatches, to let the King still go on with his treaty at London and not think of any new means of recruiting from Ireland . . . . my hope is this: that they

have put into some remote creek in Ireland and cannot as yet get into Dublin ”.

The papers for the year 1646 relate chiefly to the siege and capture of Beaumaris. Some of these papers are to be found in John Williams' "History of Beaumaris".<sup>1</sup> For the years 1647 and 1648 there are a number of orders and instructions for disbanding the Army, one of which is in the autograph of Archbishop Williams. The gentlemen of Carnarvonshire wrote to the Commissioners for Denbighshire complaining that they were unable to raise the disbanding money, and on the 9th February, 1647, Colonel Bodvel wrote that "the charge on Bardsey is the strangest thing heard", and for which they have no precedent; adding that it is but a poor island. "Neither Mr. General Jones's island in Llyne nor Mr. Bodwrda's little island hard by Bardsey, nor Lord Bulkeley's island hard by Beaumaris are taxed with a mise. Why should mine be taxed solely?" he complains, and adds that if Conway, which is useless and "chargeable", can be "demolished", the country will be very happy.

The Commonwealth period is very scantily represented in this Calendar. There are several papers which concern Colonel Carter, who was, at that period, one of the most prominent men in North Wales. He was knighted by Cromwell and Charles II successively, and was appointed Constable of Conway Castle, 1649-1661.<sup>2</sup> He married the heiress of Kinnel, and his enemies said that he had obtained her by force. He was accused of oppression and petty tyranny and, in a letter dated 11th September, 1660,

<sup>1</sup> There are two manuscript copies of this history. The one referred to above, which is the fuller of the two, is now in the National Library of Wales; the other, which has been printed by the Cambrian Archæological Association, is in the Cardiff Library.

<sup>2</sup> The Letter of appointment is among these papers and bears Cromwell's signature; it is dated 30 October, 1651.

he is compared to a serpent who "rescued from death will fall upon its friends".

The stormy scenes which characterised the Protector Richard's Parliament and its speedy dissolution in April, 1659, are reflected in a letter, dated 10th April, from William Glynne of Hawarden, member for the town of Carnarvon, to Richard Wynn of Gwydir. He observes that "when a kingdom is tossed in a blanket, happy are they who are out of it. The commonweal is turned into a commonwealth".

A number of Welshmen took part in the royalist insurrection organised by Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton in Cheshire. Robert Price of Giler, writing to Lady Grace Wynn on 4th September, 1659, informs her that Sir George is taken at Newport Pagnell, and that "Captain Sontley, together with a son of Mr. Salusbury of Bach y graig, Mr. Puleston of Emral and others have submitted and are civilly treated", while the troopers enquired as to the whereabouts of Mr. Richard Wynn (Sir Owen's son). Moreover, we are told that Lt.-Col. Ed. Broughton was sent a prisoner to Chester, and that it was feared he would lose his life "on account of having broken a former parole". It is certain that Sir Owen Wynn's son took part in this rising, for we find him in prison at Carnarvon and his estate in danger of being sequestrated. In another letter to Lady Wynn, Price observes that Col. Madrin must be handsomely "courted" if her son's estate is to be saved from the sequestrators.

On 29th May, 1660, the date of the restoration of the house of Stuart, Lady Grace Wynn wrote to her son Richard expressing her joy at their "deliverance from slavery".

There are the usual references in letters to public events during the early part of this reign: the death of

the Duke of Gloucester, the punishment of living regicides, the pitiful revenge wreaked on the corpses of the dead, the royal match with Portugal, and the riot between the French and Spanish factions on Tower Hill in September, 1661. The appointment of the Earl of Carbery to the office of President of the Council in the Principality and Marches of Wales aroused the animosity and jealousy of those old royalists in the Principality who had watched the Earl's desertion of the royal cause, in the second Civil War, with indignation and contempt. In a letter to his brother-in-law, Sir Richard Wynn, dated September, 1661, Lord Herbert of Cherbury comments on Carbery's long neglect of the King's service. The new Lord President, however, appears to have been rigorous in the preservation of law and order. In December, 1661, he instructed the Deputy Lieutenants of Carnarvonshire to have "strict ward and watch kept in all passages and highways night and day, and to have trained bands in readiness to suppress any disturbances".

The King's marriage is referred to in a letter, dated 3rd June, 1662, from Henry Bodvel to Maurice Wynn, Receiver-General for North Wales. "The Queen is a very beautiful handsome princess, low and slender and of a solid grave countenance, quick wit and a great housewife", he writes, "The King is very much taken with her and very fond of her".

The Duke of Ormonde was expected to pass through Wales on his way to take up his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and, on 10th July, 1662, Sir Griffith Williams informs Sir Richard Wynn that he has heard from my Lord of Carbery about meeting the Duke of Ormonde, but fears that the horse of the county will hardly be ready. "If he comes by the sands from Chester to Conway", he adds, "he may be a day earlier".

There is a reference to the Order in Council of 10th October for waggons to have their wheels 4 inches broad, in a letter, dated from London 11th October, from Henry Bodvel to Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, in which he says that he cannot send wines into Wales as the Act forbids all carts to travel which have not got broad wheels. Bodvel was the Receiver-General's agent in London and "received and paid out all the Queen Dowager's revenue". Lord Carbery was constantly writing to the Receiver-General urging the immediate payment of the King's rents. This was probably part of the £1,106 13s. 4d. diet-money which the Receivers of North and South Wales were, in September, 1661, instructed to pay the Lord President yearly. Bodvel begs the Receiver to pay the money, for "when all the drovers have paid it in, there will be enough to pay the King, his Lordship [Carbery] and my Lady Wynn". In January, 1665, Carbery received instructions to render an exact account of the monies received by the Sheriffs, Collectors and Receivers "during the last two years", and "which are to be put in a trunk or chest to which there shall be three locks and keys, the charge whereof shall be allowed out of the said monies, and the said keys to be in his hands (or his deputies) and the trunk put in the castle or garrison nearest his Lieutenancy". Bodvel, in a letter to the Receiver-General, refers to this trunk as the "keest haarne",<sup>1</sup> which he says "belonged to the Q."<sup>2</sup> In another letter Carbery advises the deputy lieutenants to lodge the money in Mr. Jones's house in Carnarvon, because "the town is walled and Mr. Jones very careful".

The Conventicle Act of May, 1664, had affected Welsh-

<sup>1</sup> Iron chest.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Queen Dowager Henrietta Maria. The first Sir Richard Wynn was her Treasurer.

men as well as Englishmen. In July, 1664, we read that Sir John Vaughan,<sup>1</sup> the Earl of Carbery's son, was taken prisoner whilst attending a meeting of Quakers at Mile End Green and brought to Newgate. "He is turned Quaker. He remained there a week and was at last released being a Parliament man. But his company of about 40 to 50 still continues in Newgate". There are a number of letters from Sir John Wynn of Melai, member for co. Denbigh, to his cousin Sir Richard Wynn, describing the fall of Clarendon in 1667, and giving all the news of Parliament. Sir Richard was member for Carnarvonshire, but was constantly absent from the sittings of Parliament.

Among other public events referred to we have the visit of the Russian ambassador, of which there is an interesting account in a letter from Henry Wynn, the Great Plague and the Great Fire of London. Only a faint echo of the guns of the Dutch fleet in the Medway could reach the Carnarvonshire sea ports, and no fresh intelligence is contained in the accounts of Blood's attempt on the Crown Jewels or of the shutting of the Exchequer in 1671 and 1672 respectively. By this time, indeed, the political correspondence preserved in this collection has assumed the conventional character of the News Letters which are so fully represented in the archives of the State Paper Office and in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Occasionally, too, there are references to the doings of the Welsh Colony in London. In 1674 Sir T. Bulkeley, writing to Sir Richard Wynn, says: "Their comfort is that they can make shift to go to the tavern and continue the laudable custom of sitting up late. Tom Vaughan and his lady are at the Lord Chief Justice's house at Hammersmith. Sir John Carter is at the Globe: the worst house in the uni-

<sup>1</sup> See also *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1670 (Addenda 1660-70), p. 694.

verse ". At the same time, a few more intimate descriptions of public events have been recorded here from Welsh sources : Sir Richard Wynn arriving in London shortly after the ravages of the Great Fire, sends to his wife, Lady Sarah, the following impression of the City : " It's the saddest sight from St. Dunstan's Church almost to Tower Hill . . . the pride, pomp, luxury and treason of this damned place is so far from being detested, though God's severe messengers, the plague and fire hath been among them, that I am ascertained, by good friends that know this town, it's higher than ever it was. God have mercy upon it and divert his judgments from it ".

#### INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Maurice Wynn, a younger son of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, was apprenticed to a merchant in Hamburg. We have from his pen a number of interesting letters, written between the years 1622 and 1624, which enable us to form a very fair conception of trade conditions, particularly with regard to Welsh exports, concerning which Maurice Wynn informs his father that he could " pick up a very good trade " by exporting butter and lead ore into Germany and begs him to have a Bill preferred in Parliament to have cheese and butter exported, " for which there is a good market in Germany ". In other letters, referring to the shortage of corn in Wales, he recommends Sir John to negotiate with a corn merchant in Newcastle, in order to effect an exchange of corn in the place of Welsh cottons. He also gives him some sound advice as to the disposal of his lead ore, copperas and alum. In a letter dated 31st August, 1622, he tells Sir John that there is " no sale in lead, for it falls in price by reason of the great quantity which comes daily from Poland, which is cheaper than Welsh ore ". Writing



1st January, 1623, however, he asks his father to send him some lead ore, for he can find a sale for it at "Lisbon, Leghorn, Malaga or some other place", and blames Sir John for selling his lead to "Middlesborough men", for Hollanders are too crafty to deal with English merchants". In another letter, written in April, 1623, he advises him to ascertain the cost of working copperas, "for all that is in England is bought up by one Jones, a merchant of our Company, who sends about four or five hundred barrels, at 6s. the hundredweight to Germany"; and there are many other references to commerce in these commodities, as well as to the arrival, in Welsh ports, of foreign ships of merchandise. In November, 1623, we read of a Scottish vessel in Beaumaris "laden with French wines for Chester", and, a year later, of two barks laden with Spanish wool and iron for the same town; while many ships, laden with merchandise, were cast away on the treacherous coasts of Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire.

The well-stocked and carefully preserved meres or pools of the Welsh landowners furnished an abundance of fish for household consumption. In one letter we read that "a strange fish" had been caught in Lord Keeper Williams's meres at Penrhyn. In the opinion of the cook it was a "shark", and this worthy assures the members of the household that it is "a good fish when well boiled and sauced". And in 1655 we find that fish were sent from Trawsfynydd Pools to store Sir Owen's pools at Gwydir. There are references also to the salmon and oyster fisheries in the Conway, and to the herring fishery, which William Griffith of Lleyl refers to in a letter to Sir John Wynn as "a trade which has enriched Holland" and which he has long thought of for Wales where "there are abundance of herrings, fresh and salt".

There are notices of the sale and provision of fruit, wine, corn, glass and many other commodities. The papers which relate to Welsh woollens and cottons have already been dealt with by Miss C. A. J. Skeel.<sup>1</sup>

Sir John Wynn's operations in the copper mines in Parys Mountain, co. Anglesey, are referred to in the Introduction to the "History of the Gwydir Family", and one of the papers which relate to these activities is printed in that work. There are several other letters on the subject from Sir John Wynn to Lord President Eure, dated 1607, which are new, and their value is enhanced because the Privy Council Acts for the years 1602 to 1613 are missing.

Sir Owen Wynn, the third baronet, was as active as his father in exploiting the lead mines of North Wales. There is a memorandum dated 12th February, 1655/6, which states that Sir Owen obtained a license to "search, dig and delve all lead mines within the wastes, commons and lands encroached out of the wastes in the Commote of Ardudwy, for 7 years, at a yearly rent to the Prince of 10s.", with proviso that, should a mine be discovered, he should hold a lease thereof for 21 years at a yearly rent of 20s. There are some interesting papers which illustrate the manner in which the mines were worked and the difficulties against which Sir Owen had to contend. In one paper he writes: "It must be summer work for it is high on the mountains . . . far from any house and inconvenient for miners . . . The men must have firing, timber, a smithy, a house to lodge in near their work and a house to keep ore and tools in". It is clear that before starting his mining operations in North Wales, Sir Owen sent an agent to the Cardiganshire mines to study the methods of work employed there.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 7th series, vol. ii, pp. 220-257.

Moreover, he instructed him to make enquiries for "an outlandish man (as a Dutchman or High Dutchman) that hath skill in mines", to bring back samples of the ore, as well as "any Barnstable shovels" and "good deal boards" from "Dyfy" [Dovey], which were to be conveyed by boat to Conway. The agent's efforts to procure these commodities were not, apparently, attended with success, though we gather that it was promised that a few should be delivered at some future date.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

The measures adopted by the local authorities in Wales with regard to legislation for the relief of paupers are illustrated by a number of papers relating to the suppression or licensing of alehouses, returns of Overseers of the Poor, Constables' Presentments and Quarter and Petty Sessions Orders generally. In 1672 we read that 97 alehouses were licensed in Carnarvon and Bangor, and in the Commotes of Uchgwyrfaï, Isgwyrfaï and Uchaph, while ten "did not come in to be suppressed". Further, we are told that Carnarvon and Bangor were "loath to come in, the one endeavouring to make out that their lord had power to license and that they wanted no assistance from foreign justices, and the other standing upon an old custom that they had not been used to receive licenses".

Travelling in Wales was both arduous and dangerous; roads were few and bad and travelling on horseback was the quickest and surest means of locomotion. In a letter dated 4th March, 1625, we are told that the only carriage road to Gwydir was by way of Mostyn, and in August of the same year we read "that the rivers were so swollen that Sir Peter Mutton had much ado in coming from Bala to Dolgelley, and several people were drowned".

The unreliability of the posts was a constant source of annoyance and complaint: one writer states that his letters had been opened and tampered with, another complains of the drunkenness of the Denbigh postmaster and consequent delay of the delivery of letters. Owen Wynn, writing to his father, 15th November, 1621, observes that there are divers of their own countrymen "exceedingly skilful in opening letters". In another place the Bishop of Bangor complains that the King's letters were brought by a post footman from Bangor who came through the rain without a cloak, "so that the edges of the letter were frayed", and he considers that greater care should be taken in sending letters of such importance.

There are quite a number of news-sheets scattered through the Wynn Papers. In January, 1664/5, we read that Roger l'Estrange, editor of the "Intelligencer", agreed to furnish Sir Richard Wynn "with notes on the news" from time to time, provided the baronet sent him information "should anything of use or curiosity occur". L'Estrange's lowest terms, we are told, were £5 a year and the news-letter was to be sent out on a Tuesday or Saturday. From a letter, dated 1667, we learn that "a newsmonger who belongs to my Lord Arlington demands £7 for a weekly news-sheet post free", a sum which, in these days, would enable the subscriber to read three or four daily newspapers.

References to the Welsh drovers are numerous and instructive. Nominally drovers of cattle, they were in reality the carriers of their day, and were constantly entrusted with missions of great concern, such as the conveyance to London of letters, merchandise or large sums of money. David Lloyd the drover is a familiar figure in these papers, especially during the Civil War, and, in

1661, one writer refers to him as "old David Lloyd the drover".<sup>1</sup>

"The King's Head Tavern" in Chancery Lane, and the "White Hart" in Holborn were among the favourite stopping places of Welshmen in London. There were, of course, other hostels or taverns to which the Welsh colony resorted, and during the reign of Charles II we read of tavern brawls both in England and Wales, which ended, in many instances, in a duel.

There are references to the duel between Thomas Cheadle and Sir Richard Bulkeley, in 1650, in which Bulkeley was killed. Also to the one between Sir J. Vaughan<sup>2</sup> and one Jenkins, a servant of the Earl of Oxford, in 1672, in which both were "terribly wounded".

Survivals of the Welsh tribal system can perhaps be traced in the feuds between the notable Welsh families of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Griffiths of Lleyn formed a faction against the Wynns of Gwydir and their circle, and we read of frequent brawls, often terminating in a court of law, between "the men of Lleyn" and their adversaries on the other side of the county. In one letter John Griffith is referred to as the "Pendragonett of Wales", while in another he is stated to be "Prince" among Sir John Wynn's enemies. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that a great number of papers in this Calendar relate to law-suits between the contending parties.

A pardon was issued to Thomas Cheadle in 1625 for "piracy on the high seas", and there are other references to the same subject. Smuggling was very rife in Wales, although we do not find it much referred to in

<sup>1</sup> See Skeel: *Cattle Trade between England and Wales—Trans. Royal Historical Society*, ix, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the Earl of Carbery's son referred to above, p. 109.

these papers. In 1672, Sir Roger Mostyn's agent wrote to Sir Richard Wynn saying that he dare not send wine to Gwydir as he is "in such trouble with the Customs' officers".

The systems of bribery and corruption had permeated the administrative system of England and Wales to such an extent during the seventeenth century that it requires a careful study of the whole question to decide whether one country was more tainted than the other in this respect. Certainly all through the Wynn papers there are frequent references to "presents" offered to the Lord President of Wales, the chief Justices of Chester and North Wales and others in authority. One writer, in a letter dated 16th December, 1592, referring to the appointment of the new Sheriff says that "£10 would have helped, but when men rely on words and use no better means, they must take things as they fall".

We have, in 1657, an interesting account of preparations for a Welsh funeral. The writers state that they have sent to Chester for wine, sack and claret. French wine is to be burnt and distributed in the school-house. "Whites" (35 coats) are to be used for mourning, and "a store of rosemary" is required, as well as silver bowls for the wine and cakes. In another letter, dated 1669, a clergyman is instructed to read evening prayer without a sermon; cake, biscuits and wine are to be provided, while the company must be admonished to "leave off drinking and to remember that their turn may come to die".

It appears to have been the ambition of many Welshmen of the period to marry their sons to English heiresses. We find, however, that English parents were often reluctant to consent to such unions, fearing that they might see their daughters but seldom when once they had crossed the Welsh mountains. Early in 1604/5 John Wynn wrote

to his father with regard to a match proposed between himself and one of the daughters of Sir Baptist Hicks, a wealthy Englishman; the lady's father objected to the marriage on the ground that "Wales was so remote", saying that he would not match his daughter "where he could have no comfort of her". It was also argued that the "humour in London is that the Welsh are far more irreligious than the English". Moreover, English wives were expected to learn the Welsh language. Young Wynn eventually married the daughter of a Northamptonshire knight, and Sir John Wynn, writing in 1606/7, believes that his daughter-in-law will "soon acquire the Welsh tongue". The marriage, however, was not a happy one, and Sir John appears to have altered his views on the subject of Anglo-Welsh marriages for, writing in 1614/15, he praises his own countrywomen, adding that "it is easier to have good women in this country where they are simple and know no vice, than in England where a great deal of virtue is taught, but where they incline more to vice because of the liberty the English fashions allow to women". There are also several references to clandestine marriages in North Wales.

Sir John Wynn, in accordance with the custom of many Welsh gentlemen of the period, sent his sons to England for their education. His eldest son learnt "the precepts of religion, Latin, Grammar, Greek and Hebrew, instrumental and vocal music, French and Italian" at Bedford Grammar School. His sons Owen and Robert appear to have commenced their studies at Westminster School but were removed to Eton owing to an outbreak of the Plague in London. Writing early in 1607, Sir John sends instructions by his son Owen, to their tutor at Westminster, desiring him to "oversee them lest they steal to the town and run among the carts, or go and swim

in the Thames ”. And again, on their removal to Eton, he wrote to a fellow countryman, one Hugh Roberts, Vicar of Woburn, to desire him to keep an eye on the lads. His youngest sons were, however, educated at the “ Free School ” at St. Albans. Young Robert Wynn, writing in 1615 to his father from Cambridge, praises his brothers’ progress at St. Albans and says that the method of teaching there is so “ profitable ” that Sir John will “ think his money well spent ”. In another letter Sir John complains that all schools are “ decayed ”.

There were, however, good schools in Wales. Sir John Wynn tells us in his “ History ”<sup>1</sup> that his great-grandfather was sent to a school in Carnarvon where he learned “ the English tongue, to read, to write, and to understand Latin ”. Sir Roger Mostyn, writing to his father-in-law, Sir John Wynn, on 16th February, 1613/14, asks Sir John’s advice with regard to his sons’ education, and discusses the respective merits of Hawarden, Ruthin and St. Asaph Schools, ruling out Hawarden on the ground that the headmaster was frequently engaged in “ brables ” with his neighbours and, in consequence, neglected his scholastic duties. Other Welsh schools mentioned are Beaumaris, Bangor, Conway, and Sir John’s own foundation at Llanrwst, of which we have the Statutes. Writing in May, 1623, Bishop Bayly complains that the son of one of Sir John’s servants has been to a “ petty school in Lleyn ”. The Bishop offers to keep the boy at Bangor School, as he is one of the “ hope-fullest ” boys in the school and will make a “ brave scholar in Latin and Greek ”.

Two of Sir John’s sons completed their education at St. John’s, Cambridge, a college rich in Welsh associations, where they were under the care of two kinsmen, Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Page 72 of the 1878 edition.



Owen Gwyn (Wynn), the eighteenth Master, and John Williams, afterwards Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. There are several letters from Williams to his patron and kinsman of Gwydir, informing him as to his son Robert's progress. We gather from another letter that the expenses of a young man living "in a very good sort" at Cambridge amounted to £20 per annum. There are only a few references to Jesus College, Oxford, that seat of learning founded by a Welshman for Welsh students. Sir Eubule Thelwall, writing to Sir John Wynn in July, 1621, shortly after his election as Principal of Jesus College, begs him to contribute towards the maintenance of the College, "which is intended as a nursery for literature amongst their countrymen". And Ellis Wynn discusses the respective merits of Oxford and Cambridge in a letter dated December, 1607, urging his brother, Sir John Wynn, to send the "best" son to Cambridge and the "worst" to Oxford; for the writer will "pawn his credit" that if the son who goes to Oxford has a good tutor he will learn more logic and philosophy in two years than the one at Cambridge will do in three.

Welsh girls were, for the most part, educated at home and were not, therefore, anglicised to the same extent as their brothers. In fact, they were often more proficient in their own tongue than in the English language, and, in 1621, we read that a daughter of one of the Brynkir's was taught by her tutor "to write a fairy romance and to read perfect English, but because her English tongue was not very ready, they were forced to send her to Chester".

#### RECORDS AND RECORD REPOSITORIES.

There are many passages in these papers relating to the ancient public records of the Principality, the more im-

portant of which are connected with Owen Wynn's personal researches. These were greatly assisted by his official position in the Chancery. On 28th June, 1625, a warrant was issued to give him facilities for searching the records in the Chancery at Carnarvon, and he was further authorised to take copies of such records as he might select, for the purpose of discovering concealed lands in North Wales. Again, in 1639, he was instructed to carry out researches in connection with a Commission on encroachments in the Forest of Snowdon, and he has left us some interesting notes on the custody and preservation of Welsh records. "In the Black Prince's time", he says, "the Extents of Anglesey and Carnarvon<sup>1</sup> were conveyed to Westminster and that of Merioneth left at Harlech. Part of the Extent for co. Carnarvon (being in several rolls for the several Commotes) the fore-front, comprising the Commotes of Issaph, Crythyn and Nantconwey, remained of late in the Exchequer of Carnarvon and was sewn to the rest of that Extent with blue silk. It now remains in the Treasury at Westminster". Elsewhere he writes: "The Extent of Merioneth is not extant, though much search was made for it. Robert Lloyd conceives that it was conveyed to an Exchequer kept at Harlech when that county was limited out for a jointure for one of the Queens of England".<sup>2</sup> He appends a list of records likely to prove the

<sup>1</sup> This is the Extent of 26 Edward III. the earliest extant copy of which is said to date from 19 Henry VII and is now in the British Museum (Harleian 696). There is also a later copy of the time of Queen Elizabeth (Harleian 4776) which contains the Extent of Merioneth, not included in the earlier copy. Modern authorities have described the Extent of Merioneth as having been taken in the 7th year of Henry V, and it is interesting to find that Welsh antiquaries of the seventeenth century appear to have believed that both Extents were taken during the reign of Edward III.

<sup>2</sup> Assigned as part of the dower of Queen Isabella, mother of Edward III.

case of the Snowdon enclosures. In another paper Wynn states that the Extent of Anglesey taken 12 Edward I "is yet entire and to be seen in the Treasury at Westminster".<sup>1</sup>

Record repositories visited by Owen Wynn and others include the Registry Office of the Chancery, the Crown Office, the Tower of London, the Pipe Office, the Treasury at Westminster, the Fleet Prison, Auditor Hill's Office in Wood Street, the Court of Wards at Westminster and the Exchequer at Carnarvon. Apparently the safety of the public records was even more precarious then than in our own time, for Sir John Wynn, in his *History*,<sup>2</sup> refers to the "total neglect of method and order" amongst the records removed "from the Exchequer at Carnarvon to the Tower and to the offices of the Exchequer at London". In another part of the same work,<sup>3</sup> however, he says that the records at Carnarvon were, in the fifteenth century, "as orderly and formally kept as those in Westminster". In another paper in this calendar we read with dismay that, in February, 1626, Humphrey Jones went to the Exchequer at Carnarvon and, "finding the Inquisitions sorted all together in one bag, brought them home that he might go through them at leisure". Writing in 1639 Owen Wynn refers to the "Extent Book of North Wales and divers other records which . . . are some perished, part embezzled and delivered out without warrant to several private persons"; but although Wynn censured the abstraction of records by others, we find that he was capable of a similar abuse of his official position. There is a memorandum note in his autograph, dated 1655, stating that he endeavoured to get a loan of a

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Wynn confuses the Extent of 26 Edward III with the Statute of Wales of 12 Edward I.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 42-3 of the 1878 ed.

<sup>3</sup> Page 72.

“ Book of Views ” of North Wales, by means of “ a reward to one of the clerks of the Court of Wards at Westminster ”, promising to return the same in six months.

#### THE WELSHRY AT HOME AND ABROAD.

The Calendar contains numerous letters and papers relating to eminent Welshmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the great churchmen of the period we may number John Williams, Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; William Morgan, successively Bishop of Llandaff and St. Asaph, translator of the first Welsh Bible; Richard Parry, Bishop of St. Asaph, who revised Bishop Morgan’s translation; Henry Rowlands, Bishop of Bangor; Lewis Bayly, his successor, author of the “ Practice of Piety ”; Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, an ardent Royalist and author of numerous religious treatises; John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards Archbishop of York, great-nephew to Archbishop Williams; Edmund Prys, Archdeacon of Merioneth, translator of the psalms into Welsh metrical verse; Dr. John Davies, rector of Mallwyd, the famous lexicographer; Dr. Michael Roberts, corrector for the press of the Welsh Bible of 1630,<sup>1</sup> and others.

Welsh jurists include men like Sir Francis Eure, John Jeffreys of Acton, co. Denbigh, father of the notorious Chief Justice, and Sir Peter Mutton of Llanerch, Justices of North Wales; Sir Eubule Thelwall of Plas Coch, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, a Master in Chancery and Steward and Recorder of Ruthin; Sir William Dolben, brother to the Bishop, and Puisne Justice of the King’s Bench.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal Welsh Bibliographical Society*, vol. 2, no. 8, Hall, “ Michael Roberts : Corrector for the press of the Welsh Bible of 1630 ”.

Among the men of letters not already mentioned we have Sir Thomas Williams, lexicographer and physician. It has been thought that he was in orders and that he was the Thomas Williams of Trefriw, clerk, who was reputed to be a Papist. In the course of a correspondence between Sir John Wynn and Sir William Thomas, early in 1613, with regard to the movements of certain Recusants, the latter writes that "Hugh Mores, clerk, of Trefriw, who is possibly brother of John Wyn Mores of Kyme (perhaps a seminary and absent from the country), is reported to have resorted to Thomas Williams of Trefriw, clerk". This certainly confirms the above theory as to the personality of Sir Thomas Williams, clerk, of Trefriw, but does not in itself establish his identity with that of the physician, although there seems to be a strong presumption that they were one and the same person. Finally there are letters from Robert Vaughan, of Hen-gwrt, the eminent antiquary, as well as from his namesake the engraver, and from many others.

It was inevitable that the tenure of the Lord Keepership by a Welshman should attract numbers of his fellow countrymen to the courts of James and Charles I. We read that Hugh Owen, Sergeant of the King's Larder, made a bequest for the maintenance of four poor people in Eglwys Rhos; that William Roberts was yeoman of the King's Guard; and that John Vaughan was Comptroller of the Prince's Household. Mention has been made previously of Sir Richard Wynn,<sup>1</sup> who held the office of Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I, and who was afterwards Treasurer to Queen Henrietta Maria.

In a letter dated 21st February, 1624/5, Owen Wynn sends his father "a firkin of the Palermo wine which the King drinks, which I had out of the Royal Cellar from

<sup>1</sup> See also Biographical Notes.

one Edwards, the King's 'bottleman'. He has promised me half a dozen of the French pears the King eats, as soon as any come to his hands". Ambrose Thelwall is mentioned as being "at Court". Owen and William Wynn, Sir John's sons, and their cousins, Jack Mostyn and William Hookes, were in the Lord Keeper Williams's service. On 1st March, 1640/1, we read that "Robin Jones has not obtained the carrying of the Seal . . . though the King recommended him". John Griffith of Lleyn was Secretary to the Lord Treasurer. John Panton, a kinsman of the Wynns, was Chief Secretary to Lord Keeper Egerton; Richard Jones of York House was in the service of Lord Chancellor Bacon; we meet also one Griffith Lloyd of the Guard and many others of the King's service. We have seen that there were many Welshmen fighting for the Palsgrave in the Palatinate. Others went abroad in the capacity of merchants. Maurice Wynn was apprenticed to a merchant at Hamburg, and he mentions other Welshmen in those parts. In 1622, a cousin of the Wynns, John ap Hugh of Braich y Bybe, had a brother in the East Indies, and Lewis Roberts<sup>1</sup> is referred to in 1623 as writing from Constantinople. The silk factories at Genoa and other Italian cities attracted not only the Welsh merchants who traded in that commodity, but also many sons of Welsh gentlemen, who, in accordance with the custom of those days, made the Grand Tour with a view to completing their education; among these we have Sir John Wynn's eldest son, who voyaged through France and Italy, and who has given us some interesting impressions of those countries.

In fact, throughout the pages of this Calendar, we find references to the Welshman, not only in the Principality itself, but outside his own country: in the

<sup>1</sup> The author of the "Merchants Mappe of Commerce".

Church ; in the greater or lesser offices of State ; in the legal and teaching professions, in trade and in commerce. Like the Irishman, the Welshman found that the path to fortune often lay outside the confines of his own country. Moreover, the old Welsh adage “ *Lle caffo Cymro y cais* ” [where the Welshman finds, there will he seek again] has been justified, and the son of Gwynedd continues to seek his fortune in lands outside his own and will in all probability continue to do so until the trump of doom. One generation succeeds another, for the span of man's life is short. Yet the story of the lives of great Welshmen still remains, enshrined in the pages of history and literature and preserved in the great storehouses of learning, amongst which the National Library of Wales takes its place as the chief bibliographical and manuscript repository of the Welsh nation.

NOTE.—I am grateful to my father, Dr. Hubert Hall, for reading the proofs of this paper, and for his unfailing help and advice. I should also like to express my appreciation of courtesy and encouragement from Mr. John Ballinger, Librarian of the National Library of Wales, in connection with the publication of this article.—M.F.H.

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## THE WYNN PAPERS.

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### APPENDIX A.

#### A GENEALOGY OF THE WYNNS OF GWYDIR.

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*Note.—These tables are intended to assist readers in identifying members of the Wynn Family referred to in the preceding article. The scope of the pedigree is, therefore, limited.*



TABLE I. (For biographical notes on the Wynn family see Appendix B.)

John Wyn ap Meredith= Elin, d. of Morris ap John of Gwydir, ob. 9 of Clenchy. July, 1553. (a)												
Jane, d. of Sir Richard Bulkeley of Batton Hill.	Maurice Wynn, ob. 10 Aug., 1580. (a)	(2) Ann, d. of Sir Richard Greville of Mileote, co. Warwick	(3) Catherine of Berain, d. and h. of Tudor ap Robert. She married (1) John Salusbury of Lleweny, (2) Sir Richard Clough, (3) Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, (4) Edward Thelwall of Plas y Ward, ob. 27 Aug., 1591.	Griffith Wynn of Berthddu. (a)	Gwen, co-h. of Robert Salesbury of Caermelwr.	Robert Wynn of Plas Mawr, Conway, ob. 30 Nov., 1588. (a)	(1) Dorothy, d. of Sir William Griffith, ob. (2) Dorothy, d. of Edward Dy-muck of Wel-lington	John Wynn of Gwynn, Will dated 1574, o s p (a)	Owen Wynn of Caernddwyl, ob. 1590. (a)	Elin, and co-h. of Robert Sales-bury of Caernddwyl.	Anne	Margaret.
Jane.												
John Thomas												
John Wynn of Gwynn Griffith												
Hugh Wynn of Berthddu.												
Owen Gwynn, D.D., Master of St. John's College Camb. Will proved 3 June, 1633.												
John Robert.												
Edward Wynn of Ystrad. (a)												
Blanche, d. of John Vaughan.												
Jane, = Simon Thelwall of Plas y Ward.												
Morris.												
Robert.												
John												
Thomas												
John Wynn of Gwynn Griffith												
Ellis, ob. Sept., 1623. (a)												
d. of Alderman Gage.												
Elin, Tho. Vaughan of Pant Glas.												
Robert Wynn of Maes Moch-nant. (a)												
Catherine, d. of David Lloyd of Llanrhader yn Mochnant.												
Dorothy, = Thos. Powel of Horsley.												
Margaret, = Thos. Salusbury of Lleweny.												
Robert Wynn of Gwynn, Arch-bishop of Bangor, ob. Sept., 1577. (a)												
(1) Gwen, d. of Peter Owen of Abergele, (2) Sydney, d. of Sir William Jones.												

TABLE II.

Sir John Wynn of Gwydir.=Sydney, d. of Sir William Gerard,  
kt. and bl., ob. 1 Mar., Chancellor of Ireland, ob. 8  
1626-7. (k) June, 1632.

Sir John Wynn, kt. ob. 28 Aug., 1614 (h)	Margaret, d. of Sir Thos. Clive of Northampton shire.	Sir Richard Wynn, 2nd bart., o.s.p., 19 July, 1649. (m)	Ann, d. of Sir Francis Dacre of Isles- worth	Sir Owen Wynn, 3rd bart., bur. 13 Aug. 1660. (n)	Grace, d. of Hugh Williams of Wig., ob. circa 1679-80	Robert Wynn, ob. 1617. (o) Thos. Roger, ob. an infant, Nov., 1611.	William Wynn of Garthgynan, ob. 24 Oct., 1664. (p)	Jane, d. of Thos. Lloyd of Gwern y Brechlyn.	Maurice Wynn, bapt. 4 July, 1597. o.s.p. 28 Sept., 1670. (q)	Ellis Wynn, ob. 20 Nov., 1619. (r)	Henry Wynn, ob. 27 July 1671. (s)	Catherine, d. of Ellis Lloyd of Rhawgoch	Mary, ob. 25 Feb. 1653.	Sir Roger Mostyn, kt. of Molyne, ob. 15 Aug. 1612.	John, ob. 1612.	
Edmund, ob. an infant.		Sir Richard Wynn 4th bart., ob. circa Nov. 1., 1674. (t)	Sarah, d. of Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk, ob. 16 June, 1671.	Sydney, n. 6 Sept., ob. 2 Oct., 1639.	Sydney.= Edward Thelwall of Plas y Ward.	Richard Wynn of Braemas.	Catherine, d. of Thos. Vise. Bulkeley ob. 5 Sept. 1706, aet. 69.	Jane, d. of Emyr Evans of Wat- slay.	Sir John Wynn, 5th bart., o.s.p. 11 Jan. 1718-19.		Col John Bodley ob. 28 Mar. 1665.	Ann, d. of Sir Wm. Russell, 4th bart., of Chapponham, Cam- bridgeshire.	Mary, ob. 11 Oct. 1655.			
			Mary, Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby, ob. 1689. 1st Duke of Ancaster								John o.s.p.	Elizabeth.	Sarah	Robert, Roberts, Vise. Bodley, son of John, bart. of Radnor, ob. 1681 before his father.		
		Sir Thomas Mostyn, kt., d. in his father's lifetime, 1641	Elizabeth, d. of Sir John Whitlock Chief Justice of Chester.	John Mostyn of Tregarnedd, Anglesey, o.s.p.	William Mostyn, Archdeacon of Bangor, ob. 1671.	Richard.	Robert.	Margaret, d. of Harry Goway of Plas yn y Nant.	Sydney.	Sir Richard Grosvenor of Eaton.	Catherine	Col the Hon Sir Richard Bulkeley	Charles Bodley, Roberts 2nd bart. of Radnor.			

APPENDIX B.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE WYNN FAMILY.<sup>1</sup>

- (a) JOHN WYN AP MEREDITH.—A number of letters from Mary of France (Duchess of Suffolk), Bishop Rowland Lee, Sir Richard Bulkeley and others, addressed to John Wyn ap Meredith, will be found in this Calendar. His Will, dated 21st June, 1559, is printed in *Bye-gones* (1888), pp. 66-7.
- (b) MAURICE WYNN.—There is a book of memoranda amongst these papers which is in the hand of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir and which contains two drafts of his Will, dated respectively 6th July, 1557, and 20th Dec., 1559. He appears to have represented the inhabitants of North Wales in their attempts to resist Leicester's arbitrary proceedings in the matter of the Forest of Snowdon, and from other papers in this Calendar we find that he opposed the Earl's claim to the wardship of Thomas Salsbury, Catherine of Berain's son by her first husband Sir John Salsbury. Thomas Salsbury was afterwards implicated in the Babington Plot. There are letters from Maurice Wynn to his eldest son John, a law student in the Temple, with regard to his marriage with Sir William Gerard's daughter. There is also a letter from Maurice Wynn's third wife, Catherine of Berain, to her step-son John Wynn.
- (c) GRIFFITH WYNN OF BERTHDDU.—He inherited the estates of his brother Dr. John Gwynn. He is barely referred to in this Calendar. Sir John Wynn in his "History" says that he was in the service of Sir Edmund Knyvet and fought under him in Kett's Rebellion, and that when he returned to Gwydir he brought Kett's nag with him, naming him "Glas Kett" after his former master. Griffith Wynn served under the Earl of Pembroke during Wyatt's Rebellion in 1554. There are letters in this Calendar from his son Dr. Owen Gwynn, D.D., to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir. There is also a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Hugh Wynn of Berthddu,

<sup>1</sup> See Genealogical Tables above.

dated 23rd February, 1614, authorising the said Hugh to erect a sepulchral monument in Llanrwst Church to his father and mother, Griffith and Gwen Wynn.

- (d) ROBERT WYNN OF PLAS MAWR.—He was in the service of Sir Philip Hoby, whom he appears to have accompanied during Hoby's missions in Flanders and to whom he refers in two letters in this Calendar, written from London in 1553. Sir John Wynn in his "History" tells us that, on his master's death in 1558, Robert Wynn returned to Wales and, after his marriage, settled in Conway, where he built the "goodly house" called Plas Mawr. We are also told that he served Sir Walter Stonor in his youth. Sir Walter was Lieutenant of the Tower, and lived at Henley-upon-Thames, not far distant from the Welsh bard, Howel Coytmor.
- (e) DR. JOHN GWYNN.—He was Doctor of Laws, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Llanfair in Dyffryn Clwyd. There is a Latin letter in this Calendar, written from Trinity College, Cambridge, to his father John Wyn ap Meredith, and another dated 22nd November, 1568, describing an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury with regard to the lease of the prebend of Llanfair. There is also an abstract of his Will (dated 1st June, 1574) amongst these papers. He left an annuity of £40 for the maintenance of three fellows and six scholars of St. John's College. In 1655 he was one of the Proctors of the University, and subscribed the Catholic Articles of that year, and Sir John Wynn in his "History" tells us that he arrested the Duke of Northumberland in 1553.
- (f) OWEN WYNN OF CAERMELWR.—There are two letters to a certain Owen Wynn dated 24th June and 17th November, 1588; this was undoubtedly Owen Wynn of Caermelwr. We have also a note dated from Caermelwr, 29th October, 1589, by Owen Wynn, with regard to a certain mortgage.
- (g) RICHARD WYNN OF GLASFRYN.—John Wynn, writing to his father Maurice in 1576, says that he has been staying with his brother Richard in his Chambers in Hart Hall, Oxford. \* There is also a letter from

Richard Wynn written in March, 1612, a year before his installation as Archdeacon of Bangor.

- (h) ROBERT WYNN OF MAES MOCHNANT.—There are letters in this Calendar from him addressed to his brother Sir John Wynn.
- (i) ELLIS WYNN.—There are a number of letters written by him to his brother Sir John. He was one of the Clerks of the Petty Bag in the High Court of Chancery. He was buried on the south side of the long aisle in Westminster Abbey.<sup>1</sup> His Will, dated 25th September, was proved 16th October, 1623.
- (j) EDWARD WYNN OF YSTRAD.—His grandson Edward Wynn was Clerk of the Green Cloth to Charles II.
- (k) SIR JOHN WYNN OF GWYDIR, KT. AND BART.—From the year 1575 until his death in 1627 Sir John Wynn is the central figure in this Calendar and much that is new may be found concerning the eventful life of this remarkable Welshman. Commencing his career as a law student of the Inner Temple he appears to have resided in London until his father's death in 1580, when he returned to Wales and from thenceforth took an active part in the administration and government of the Principality, and represented the county of Carnarvonshire in the Parliament of 1586. He was knighted in 1606 and was among the first baronets created by James I in 1611. He was a member of the Council of the Marches of Wales as well as Deputy Lieutenant of Carnarvonshire. He also held the office of Sheriff a number of times, both in Carnarvonshire and Denbighshire, and was in the Commission of the Peace. In a paper dated 10th October, 1594, he is described as a "tall black man", and in another letter we are told that the tailor would hardly believe that Sir John was so "well set" and so "broad in the shoulders". The numerous memoranda in this Calendar show that he had a remarkable aptitude for business. Although Sir John was generous where his own interests were concerned, we find his sons constantly complaining that their "quarterage money" was insufficient for

<sup>1</sup> See *The History of the Gwydir Family* (1878 ed.) Also *Westminster Abbey Registers* (Harleian Socy. Publications, vol. 10, p. 121).

their needs and, even if one makes allowance for the extravagance of youth, there is no doubt that Sir John tightened the family purse-strings. His frequent lawsuits often brought him to London and, on the occasion of a visit to the metropolis in 1612, soon after his elevation to the baronetage, we read that he "kissed the Prince's hand this day, 12th May, 1612, and dined at Court"; while we can picture the delight and pride of the old baronet on hearing his son Richard praised by the Lord Chamberlain. In a letter to his son John he remarks: "This journey hath made me known to the great ones and, I hope, respected". In another place (7th June, 1613) we read that his tomb was shipped from London to Beaumaris; this may be the sepulchral monument consisting of "two stately pyramidal columns of variegated marble" referred to in the preliminary portion of the 1878 edition of the "*History of the Gwydir Family*" (p. xvi). A large number of the letters we have from his pen are addressed to his sons; there are also letters to distinguished men of the day, many of whom were connected with Sir John either by blood or by marriage. Bishop Lewis Bayly, writing to Sir Richard Wynn shortly after the old baronet's death (1st March, 1626-7) and condoning his loss, cites the Welsh proverb, "*Mae'r carw a fu farw yn fyw*" [The stag that was dead is alive].

- (1) SIR JOHN WYNN, KT.—There is ample material in this Calendar for a biography of the young knight. His early education, his life as a student of law in Lincoln's Inn, his father's projects for effecting a wealthy match for his eldest son, his unfortunate marriage with the daughter of a Northamptonshire knight, which appears to have embittered his early manhood and no doubt induced him to leave his own country and to follow the Grand Tour through France and Italy, are all fully recorded in these papers. We have many delightful letters from his pen descriptive of his travels in those countries. He died at Lucca of the Plague on the 25th August, 1614, and was buried in the ancient church of St. John the Baptist, now known as the church of SS. John and Reparata. At the present day, an entry may be seen in the regis-

ters of that church recording his death and interment. We have no evidence to prove that he died in the Catholic faith, yet there is some presumption to that effect, because the Canon of St. John's would undoubtedly have refused to inter a Protestant in his church. One must conjecture that either the young man or his friends concealed the fact of his being a Protestant, or that, being *in extremis*, with no Protestant minister at hand, the priest was sent for and young Wynn died a Catholic, receiving the last rites of that Church. His letters indicate that he was attracted to the Catholic religion, and in March, 1614, he was admonished by his father not to change his faith "notwithstanding that the Romish religion has more show of holiness than theirs". His Will, made just before his death, is amongst the Wynn papers. His little daughter Eleanor was "weak and sickly" and died while still a child in or about the year 1616. John Wynn's widow afterwards married Sir Francis Aungier, Master of the Rolls for Ireland.

- (m) SIR RICHARD WYNN, 2ND BART.—In addition to good looks, Sir Richard Wynn, the second baronet, appears to have been gifted with a pleasing personality which, in a great measure, contributed to his success as a courtier. Admitted as a student of Lincoln's Inn in 1606, he soon abandoned his legal studies, and, in November, 1608, entered the Lord Chamberlain's service. In April, 1617, he was sworn a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and, in 1618, married the daughter of Sir Francis Darcie of Isleworth. In 1623 he accompanied Prince Charles, in the capacity of Groom of the Bedchamber, on his expedition to Madrid, and he has given us an entertaining account of his experiences at the Spanish Court in his *Narratio de Caroli Walliae princ. in Hispaniam itinere, 1623*, published by Hearne as an appendix to his history of Richard II. Halliwell-Phillipps adds Sir Richard's journal as an appendix to the *Autobiography of Sir Simon D'Ewes*. There are a few letters in this Calendar written by Sir Richard which relate to his travels; in one letter he observes that "Castile and Aragon together are not worth one of the worst counties of Wales". In 1633 he built the

Gwydir chapel at Llanrwst. He afterwards became Treasurer to Queen Henrietta. He does not appear to have resided at Gwydir for any length of time, and from letters in this Calendar we gather that business connected with the estate was attended to by his brother Owen. He died 19th July, 1649, and was buried in the nave of the church at Wimbledon. There is a copy of his Will amongst these papers, as well as an inventory of his goods at London House in the Strand, and, amongst other items enumerated, we find references to portraits of Sir John Wynn the first baronet, "Lady Wynn", and Sir Richard himself; a "picture of Sir John in brass" is also mentioned and two boxes containing "writings and other account books for the King". We gather from a letter in this Calendar that his widow Lady Ann Wynn died at Brentford about 16th May, 1668.

- (n) SIR OWEN WYNN, 3RD BART.—He was sent to Westminster School, although his father removed him almost immediately on account of the Plague in London, and sent him to Eton. He does not appear to have gone to the University. In 1608 his father took measures to apprentice him to a merchant: Owen Wynn, however, had no aptitude or liking for that career and, in a letter dated August, 1609, the merchant informs Sir John that his son had "no mind to be a merchant", and advises him to "put the young man to something he likes". Under the patronage of Lord Keeper Williams he eventually obtained a position in the Chancery and, in 1624, married the Lord Keeper's niece Grace, daughter of Hugh Williams of Wíg. There are, in this Calendar, letters which furnish interesting data with regard to Lord Keeper Williams, both previous to and during the Civil War. In 1649, on the death of his brother Sir Richard, Owen Wynn succeeded to the title, and from that date until his death in 1660 he appears to have resided at Gwydir. There are numerous papers which deal with his experiments as an alchemist, as well as with his operations in the lead mines of Carnarvonshire. His attitude during the Civil War is referred to above. In a letter written after his death he is



described as having had a "bushy beard which he always wore careless".

- (o) ROBERT WYNN.—He was educated at Eton with his brother Owen, and was sent to Cambridge in 1608. In November, 1611, he wrote to his mother expressing a strong desire to enter the Church instead of becoming a lawyer, as his father had originally intended, pleading that "if he were to seek after worldly honours the law would be his only course, but that if he would be God's servant he must refrain from the world". According to an inscription in the Gwydir Chapel, Robert Wynn entered Holy Orders in 1617, at the age of 24. In a letter dated 20th June, 1616, he says that he was "made a deacon last Trinity Sunday". In the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (ed. J. and J. A. Venner) we find a Robert Gwynn recorded as follows:—"B.A., from St. John's, 1611-12, of St. Asaph. M.A. 1615. Fellow 1613. Incorp. at Oxford 1613. Ordained Deacon (York for Lincoln) May 26, 1615". If we are able to identify this Robert Gwynn with Sir John Wynn's son we must still account for the dissimilarity in the respective dates recorded for his ordination as deacon. It is probable that the destructive effects of the disease which carried off several of Sir John's sons, and which appears to have been consumption, had already been felt during Robert Wynn's career as a student at Cambridge. We read in a letter from Sir John to Lord Keeper Williams, dated 16th October, 1616, that his son Robert already stood "upon his traverse with death, having endured a long lingering disease, being . . . a fever hectic". In another letter, dated 11th March, 1616-17, Sir John refers to his son Robert at Gwydir as the "furthest gone creature". He died during the summer of that year and his tutor, writing in July to Sir John, remarks that he was "weak in the constitution of his body, but strong in religious devotion".
- (p) WILLIAM WYNN.—In a letter dated 4th November, 1611, we read that he was admitted as a student of St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1619 he entered the service of the Master of the Great Wardrobe and, in 1621, that of Lord Keeper Williams, while

in a letter dated 15th July, 1625, we are told that the Lord Keeper visited Wynn's house on the way to London from Hampton Court. In another letter, dated 18th July, 1623, we read also that Wynn was praised by the Lord Keeper for his faithful service. He was afterwards Prothonotary of North Wales. He died 24th October, 1664.

- (q) MAURICE WYNN.—In 1615 he was apprenticed to a merchant in London for the term of nine years. Robert Wynn, writing to his father in November of the same year, observes: "My brother Maurice looks so well in London that, far from being a weakling, he is like to prove the hardiest of us all". In 1618, his master sent him to learn his trade in Germany and we have a number of letters written to his father from Hamburg. He appears eventually to have abandoned the career of a merchant and to have returned to Wales. During the reign of Charles II he held the office of Receiver-General for North Wales. He died 28th September, 1670, at the age of 73.
- (r) ELLIS WYNN.—He was a student of the law in Gray's Inn. William Wynn, writing to his mother in August, 1619, says that his brother Ellis has a troublesome cough and, writing again in November, he expresses concern at his brother's ill-health and desires his father to send to their uncle, Dr. John Bulkeley of Cleifiog, for advice. Realising that he was a dying man, young Wynn made a pitiful attempt to return to his home in Wales; but the journey was too much for him and he expired at an inn at Haywood [co. Stafford?] on 20th November, 1619, at the age of 20. He was buried in Whitford Church, co. Flint.
- (s) HENRY WYNN.—He was the youngest of Sir John Wynn's sons. From letters in this Calendar we learn that he was educated at the "Free-school" at St. Albans, and that, in 1618, he was admitted to the Inner Temple; there are some interesting letters about the difficulty of obtaining chambers there. In a letter dated February, 1621-2, we read that his chambers in the Temple were so ruinous that they were not safe. He married in November, 1620. He

eventually became Judge of the Marshalsea, Prothonotary of the North Wales circuit and Secretary to the Court of the Marches. He was M.P. for Merionethshire in 1624, 1625, 1640 and 1661 until his death in 1671. According to the 1878 edition of the "History of the Gwydir Family" (Introd. p. 9), there is a monument to Henry Wynn in the Temple Church in London.

- (t) SIR RICHARD WYNN, 4TH BART.—From certain papers in this Calendar it is certain that he took part in Sir George Booth's rising in 1659. A large portion of the letters written by him are directed to his wife Lady Sarah, and from the tenour of these letters it is clear that Sir Richard and his wife were deeply attached to one another; his concern at her failing health finds expression in many of his letters. He was M.P. for Carnarvonshire, though he appears to have been frequently absent from the sittings of Parliament. After his death in 1674 his little daughter Mary remained in the charge of her grandmother Lady Grace Wynn, and, after this date, many of the letters are concerned with negotiations for a suitable match for the young heiress.
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# Welsh Tribal Law and Custom.<sup>1</sup>

## A REVIEW

BY PROFESSOR J. E. LLOYD, M.A., D.LITT., Bangor.

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HAD the author of these two substantial volumes done no more than rekindle interest in the ancient laws of Wales and invite scholars to a fresh consideration of the many issues which they touch, he would have rendered a great service to Welsh studies. There has been signal neglect of this aspect of old Welsh life; while the philologist, the historian and the literary critic have been busy in their several departments, the lawyer has been singularly indifferent to the wealth which bygone Wales could offer him in his special domain, and it is nearly forty years since there appeared, from the pen of a lawyer, a full and critical account of Welsh legal antiquities. It is true that parts of the field have been surveyed, for instance, by Seeböhm in his studies of primitive society and by Rhys and Jones in "The Welsh People"; texts have been edited and glossaries compiled by Mr. Wade Evans and Mr. Timothy Lewis. But there has been no survey of the system as a coherent whole, by a writer qualified to discuss it as a system of law, since the publication of Hubert Lewis's "Ancient Laws of Wales" in 1889. It was a lack which was keenly felt by the present writer, when it fell to his duty, in a work published in 1911, to sketch in outline the social and political institutions of the people whose fortunes he was endeavouring to describe.

Mr. Ellis, however, has done far more than awaken

<sup>1</sup> *Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages.* By T. P. Ellis. Two vols. Oxford, 1926.

interest and curiosity; he has supplied a real need. He has not only sounded his gong; he has provided an ample meal. For the task, which has occupied the leisure of many years, he has had some notable qualifications. As a Denbighshire man, he is familiar with modern Welsh life; his Oxford course has given him the equipment of a scholar, and—most important of all—a long experience in the judicial administration of an Indian province has enabled him to envisage the problems of primitive society as practical questions, to be discussed, not in the abstract, with the detachment of a student, but as matters of concrete fact. The result is a book which forms an indispensable guide to the study of old Welsh life, a work which will be found necessary to the elucidation of his difficulties by the lexicographer, the historian of society, the economist and the topographer, as well as by the lawyer pure and simple. It is unfortunate that the exigencies of modern publication should require the fixing of the price of the two volumes at so high a figure as four pounds, but the wise lover of Welsh studies will not be daunted by this initial obstacle, but will conclude that the moment has come to make a prudent investment.

It is one of the many virtues of the book that it covers the whole field. While there is full treatment of the fundamental questions of social structure and land tenure and much space is devoted under these heads to the discussion of recent theories and recent publications, a very large part of the work is occupied by an analysis of Welsh legal principles and customs which have not of late received any adequate notice. An example is the careful marshalling in part V (ii. 1-63) of the evidence as to the law of Civil Obligations, showing the various forms which an agreement might take among the Welsh. There was

formal suretyship ("mechni", not "machni", as Mr. Ellis has it), in which a third party assumed liability for his principal, there was asseveration ("briduw"), in which God himself was called to witness and there was no other surety, and there was contract ("amod"), with outside witnesses, but no outside personal liability. The reader who seeks information as to the practice of the Welsh in regard to such matters as arson, distress, boundaries, theft, pursuit of game, the procedure of courts, and the training of judicial officers, will find here a clear and reasoned account, based upon the primary authorities and illustrated by reference to the corresponding usages of other early societies. Mr. Ellis leaves this great body of legal doctrine—infinately detailed and yet entirely consistent and coherent—to make its own impression on the student; he does not allow himself the luxury of a triumphant summing up, a broad review and estimate of the quality of mind, of the ideal of justice revealed in these manifold provisions. He is content to set at the head of his work the appreciations of two foreign scholars, Walter and Loth, who record their opinion that "in the science of law the Welsh far outstripped the other mediæval peoples" and that "from the intellectual point of view, the Laws may be regarded as the chief title to fame of the Welsh people". No one who has carefully studied this work will hesitate to endorse this view; we can afford to snile at the irate Peckham—surely the most tactless envoy ever despatched on a mission of reconciliation—who in 1282 could find no higher warrant for the laws of Hywel than the authority of the devil.

A more serious omission than that of a closing summary, which, after all, the intelligent reader may supply for himself, is the absence of any conspectus of the legal texts upon which the book is based. It is, of course, quite

certain that a critical account of the various MSS. of the Laws, showing their age, provenance, and inter-dependence, would, if the task were adequately performed, make a substantial book of itself and could not, one feels sure, have been compassed within the limits imposed upon Mr. Ellis. A scholar of to-day, dealing with this question, would have to take a much more liberal allowance of space than the ten pages which served Mr. Aneurin Owen in 1841. But it would, nevertheless, have been helpful, if the very brief reference to the MSS. on p. 5 had been expanded into some half a dozen pages, describing the nature of the evidence upon which the author has relied. One point is made sufficiently clear, namely, that book xiii of Owen's edition, the notorious "*Trioedd Dyfnwal Moelmud*", is entirely rejected, in accordance with the view expressed by the present writer in 1911. It may be remarked, parenthetically, that the researches of later years make it very doubtful whether one was justified in ascribing this compilation even to so early a date as "the close of the Middle Ages"; "about the time of the French Revolution" might have been a happier conjecture. This reference to the Triads is the only example, if one is not mistaken, of criticism of the documents to be found in Mr. Ellis's book, and occasionally (though not often, it must be admitted) the doubt crosses one's mind whether his analysis might not have gained in point and clearness if he had allowed sufficiently for the difference in age between the authorities upon which he was relying. Owen's book xi, for instance, which furnishes some fifty pages of supplemental matter to the "*Anomalous Laws*", comes from a MS. ascribed by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans (*Report on Welsh MSS.*, ii. 948) to the late fifteenth century, that is, to a time when the old jurisprudence was still in use in remote corners of Wales, but when the recol-

lection of the days of independence and of the full vigour of the law must have been extremely faint. It is obvious that this particular MS., the S of the 1841 edition, cannot be safely used as an authority for the interpretation of the law as it stood in the days of Owain Gwynedd, or even of the last Llywelyn.

This is not the place for detailed examination of the argument of the book where contentious issues are raised. On the very difficult question of the "cenedl", it may be said that Mr. Ellis succeeds in bringing out the contradictions implicit in the view of Lewis and Seebohm (adopted also by the present writer), that it was a well defined organisation, with officers and powers, but he does not clear up the mystery of the "pencenedl", whose existence cannot be denied. Many other questions of interest are raised by the book, which will, no doubt, provoke discussion and debate, now that Mr. Ellis has once more called attention to this neglected field of study. It will be sufficient, in conclusion, to note a few matters which have caught the eye in a first perusal. The weakest side of Mr. Ellis's otherwise complete armour is his knowledge of Welsh, which does not enable him to move with ease among the mediæval forms of the language. He is not aware, for instance, that "dyn" in old Welsh means a human being (*homo*), whether of the male or the female sex (ii. 91). "Twrf" (tumult) appears on ii. 92 as "thwyf", "mechni" as "machni", "gwatwardig" as "gwaradog" (ii. 9). "Calan Gaeaf" is November 1st, not December 1st (ii. 38). The maps represent a great amount of well spent labour, but a number of corrections and additions may be suggested. "Kyrayskadwy" (v.l. *Kynyskadwy*) cannot be Dinas Mawddwy, which was in Powys. "Bourenathlan" is not Llanberis, but probably stands for "Bon yr Afallen"; cf. Pant yr Afallen, near



Port Dinorwic. “Gomms” is Gwynus in the parish of Pistyll. Rhoscolyn, notwithstanding its position, was in the commote of Menai, being a detached portion; see Peniarth MS. 147, where it appears as “ll. wenvayn ynglyn ros”.

One cannot close this brief account of a very notable book without expressing satisfaction that the love of Wales and its magical past should have so thrown its spell over a Welshman in exile as to lead him to consecrate his leisure to a task which has long awaited fulfilment, but which home-keeping scholars have, despite greater advantages, left undone.

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# The Troubles of Dr. William Lucy.

By THOMAS RICHARDS, M.A., D.LITT.,

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FOR nearly seventeen years after the Restoration the Bishop of St. David's was Dr. William Lucy. A native of Hampshire, but a very near relation to Shakespeare's Lucy of Charlecote. He was a vigorous personality, impetuous and irascible of temper, stubborn to a fault, and with very little humour or diplomacy to gild its rough edges. In this respect he was a complete contrast to Dr. Humphrey Lloyd of Bangor. Though Dr. Lucy often quoted from his "bookes of law", dare though he did to write observations on the doctrines of Hobbes,<sup>1</sup> his learning was somewhat thin, not comparable to the deep and wide scholarship of Dr. William Lloyd of St. Asaph. He was continually harassing the Archbishop with awkward queries; the Archbishop was kept equally busy in correcting the Bishop's mistakes. In his utter inability to understand the occasional expediency of compromise, he rather resembled the brusqueness of Dr. Henry Glemham. As bishop and man, let us hasten to say he towered high above that materialist uncle of Lady Castlemaine. He had by far the largest diocese in Wales, and one of the largest in the whole country. And, like all the Restoration bishops, he had to build up the Church again from the ruins of "the late sad times". To secure the new

<sup>1</sup> For a short reference to this attempt of 1664, see *Life and Times of Anthony Wood* (ed. Clark), ii, 472; John Aubrey: *Brief Lives* (ed. Clark), i, 373.

uniformity of doctrine and worship, he had to coerce the Puritans of his diocese, men of tender conscience but of iron nerve, in whom the fire of faith burnt with a greater glow after the dross of their former liberty had been washed away.

For the effective wielding of sword and trowel, the Bishop required a cool head and the free use of his two arms. Will it be believed that during a series of critical years his energies were frittered away in a bitter contest with a brother bishop from over the Border regarding the extent of archidiaconal jurisdiction, and in defending the interests of a fellow-Englishman whom he had made Chancellor of the diocese, though he was well aware the office was already held by another Chancellor, a man who could pull very effective wires in very high places? Was it by dividing the ranks of his friends he could best cope with the Papist colony in Brecknock, with the Quaker casuists of Pembrokeshire, with the trained followers of Stephen Hughes in Carmarthenshire, with the inexpugnable disciples of Vavasor Powell in Brecon and Radnor? Tribulation and Bishop Lucy were born bed-fellows. Fortunately for him he had, up to his later years, great bodily strength and never a doubt about being always in the right.

(i) THE ARCHDEACONRY OF BRECON.

The brother bishop from over the Border was Dr. William Nicholson, Bishop of Gloucester. Nicholson had been beneficed in Wales for years before the wars as vicar of Llandeilo-fawr,<sup>1</sup> a preferment which he owed (very probably) to the influence of the Percies of Northumberland, who at that time had important inappropriate interests in Carmarthenshire, and in whose family he had

<sup>1</sup> Collated 14 Sept., 1626 (*Lib. Inst.*, St. David's, f. 71).

acted as tutor.<sup>1</sup> In 1644 he was made Archdeacon of Brecon. It says much for Nicholson's high conception of duty, and incidentally for the loyalty of the Brycheiniog men, that he was able to visit Brecon as archdeacon just when the Civil War was raging at its fiercest.<sup>2</sup> With the supersession of Episcopacy his duties as archdeacon came to an end. In 1648 he was still vicar of Llandeilo, described, however, as a delinquent, a violent man, doing much to keep the people true to the King's cause; most ominous of all, he was said to be of good estate.<sup>3</sup> The end could not be far. By his failure to take the republican "Engagement" devised by the Rump, he was declared a malignant; the Welsh commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel stepped in about 1650 and turned him out of the living.<sup>4</sup> For a time, if not altogether, he remained in his old parish or in its neighbourhood. He taught school privately to the sons of Cavaliers; when the days of such institutions were in turn numbered, he devoted his large leisure to write books—courageous, cogent, comprehensive—in explanation and defence of the Anglican position. It was to his old parishioners he addressed the Epistle Dedicatory to the *Exposition of the Church Catechism* (1655), in which he made a powerful attack upon the non-residence which was involved in the Puritan system of itinerant preaching, and upon "the novelists that have set footing amongst us".<sup>5</sup>

His scholarship, his courage, and his edifying work as author gave Nicholson a natural place among the new

<sup>1</sup> They do not appear, however, to have any direct influence at Llandeilo (*Bodl. MS.* 323, f. 53).

<sup>2</sup> Deposition made by Thomas Roberts of Brecon on 18 Jan., 1664-1665 (*Exchequer Deps.*, Breck., Hilary, 16-17 Chas. II, No. 12).

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Comm. Comp.*, iii, 1824-1826. 8 March.

<sup>4</sup> *MS. J. Walker*, e. 7, f. 209.

<sup>5</sup> W. L. Bevan: *St. David's* (Dioc. Hist., S.P.C.K.), pp. 184-185.

bishops of the Restoration. Unfortunately, on account of his small revenue as Bishop of Gloucester, he was allowed to retain *in commendam* the vicarage of Llandeilo and his former archdeaconry of Brecon (a canonry in the Cathedral of St. David's also fell to his lot).<sup>1</sup> If Dr. Nicholson had happened to be an easy-going prelate who hied up to London to hang about the Court, all would have been well. Rather did he happen to have the same scrupulous conscience as he had before the wars : he made it his duty to visit his archdeaconry in person, if possible ; if not, he had appointed Thomas Lewis, rector of Llanveigan, to act in his stead. Thomas Roberts of Brecon re-assumed his old office of registrar. They were all three quite keen about the payment of the customary procuration fees and synodals. But it was assuredly an anomaly to find one Bishop invading the province of another, to whom as archdeacon he owed canonical obedience, to whom as Bishop he was equal, to whom intellectually he was admittedly superior.

Under such conditions was it possible for two prelates to work together without coming into serious conflict? Not very possible, especially if Dr. William Lucy was one of them. Whether the Bishop of St. David's worried the aged Archbishop Juxon with his grievances we do not know ; it is certain that Juxon's successor Sheldon was very soon made aware of the difficult situation that had arisen. It was on 31st August, 1663, that the formalities of Sheldon's installation were completed.<sup>2</sup> As early as a month later he was writing a letter to Lucy counselling peace. Peace certainly, but not at any price, was the answer. " My *Jura Episcopalia* are things intrusted with me, and I ought to render a fair accompt to my Successor

<sup>1</sup> Browne Willis : *Survey of St. David's*, pp. 170-171.

<sup>2</sup> Vernon Staley : *Life*, p. 105.

how I have p<sup>r</sup>served Them for him ". He tells the Archbishop he has advised with his books of law, in which he found that the rights of archdeacons throughout Christendom were strictly prescribed by custom. The custom in the diocese of St. David's, he goes on to say, was for the Archdeacon after Easter to sit by himself or by his surrogate, *the Chancellor of the diocese to sit with him to collect all procurations*. In no case must the visitation be made at unseasonable times, nor upon erroneous business, nor invade the jurisdiction episcopal.<sup>1</sup> It is quite evident Dr. Lucy would like Dr. Nicholson's archdeaconry to be little more than ornamental. He had the greatest objection to visits other than those at Easter. If Nicholson appeared at Brecon, as he did, at the Michaelmas of 1663, his visitation would fall within the same year as Lucy's first triennial progress, a circumstance which would only serve to throw into painful relief the overlapping of jurisdictions. Lucy stood by the custom of St. David's, Nicholson by the ancient dignity of archdeacons as governed by general custom and the Canon Law. But had not Dr. Lucy read in his books of law that though an archdeacon was not to conduct a visitation in the year of the bishop's triennial, yet he was allowed instead to hold two formal " chapters " in that same year, one of which could be held at Michaelmas?<sup>2</sup> Whether he had or no, the happy season of Michaelmas was full of unhappiness for Dr. Lucy because it brought Dr. Nicholson from over the Border to gather in his procuration fees from the clergy of Brecknock and Radnor. In 1663 the two dignitaries

<sup>1</sup> For this important letter of the Bishop's, see *Tanner MS.* 47, ff. 51-51<sup>v</sup>. It was written from Brecon on 19 Oct., 1663. This date is sufficient to dispose of Archdeacon Bevan's idea that the quarrel began in 1665 (*St. David's*, p. 196)

<sup>2</sup> By custom, not by Canon (William Nelson: *The Rights of the Clergy* (1709), p. 543).

must have met, not in some country lane with pre-Reformation retinues of seven and thirty horse respectively, but somewhere in the town of Brecon : the home Bishop speaks of personal affronts and [moral?] injuries and of his great forbearance under great temptation. "I could have legally acted further with my Lord of Glo[u]cester than I did, but *pro honore Episcopatus* I acted as little as I could preserving my Rights" <sup>1</sup> According to the document cited in the next paragraph, he made Gloucester promise not to hold any further visitations without his express leave.<sup>2</sup>

This was nothing to what happened in 1664. Here follows the letter written to no less a person than His Grace the Archbishop on 8th October of that year. It is copied verbatim with all its picturesque spelling and its inconsequential grammar.<sup>3</sup> Notes in explanation will be added here and there.

May it please your Grace.

Wee thought it our duty to represent to you what happened between the Bp. of St. Dds and the Bp. of Gl: in the case of the Archde[a]conry of Brecon. Wee waiting upon my Ld. Bp. of Gl: as commissioners and servants, came late to the town of Brecon on Saturday night, where the Archdeacon of Carmarthen<sup>4</sup> and one Edwards,<sup>5</sup> a minister (as they call him) ask't the Bp. of Gl: where the Bp. of St. Davids should waite upon him, who replyed, He stood not upon Equall ground,

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<sup>1</sup> *Tanner MS.* 47, ff. 51-51<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Whether this promise was meant to include Easter as well as Michaelmas is not very clear. Gloucester hotly denied he gave any promise at all.

<sup>3</sup> *Tanner MS.* 146, ff. 139-139<sup>v</sup>. There is a fairly accurate transcript of this letter in Theophilus Jones: *Hist. Breck.*, ii (1809), pp. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> William Jones, presented thereto by the King on 13 August, 1660 (*Pat. Rolls*, 12 Chas. II, pt. 3, No. 97, and pt. 19, No. 12).

<sup>5</sup> Most probably John Edwards, rector of Llanelieu, since 1663 vicar of the Hay as well, and chaplain to Sir Henry Williams of Gwernynyed. Soon after this he was made a canon of St. David's (*Exch. First Fruits Certifs.*, files 13 & 14; *Lambeth MS.* 639, f. 335).

He was an Archdeacon and so, one of his clergy and owed him canonicall obedience, which he would as readily perform as any priest of them all: with which expression (w<sup>n</sup> related) the Bp. of St. Davids was so taken, that he promised to give *him* a visit and accordingly on Monday morning did: and after a few complements The Bp. of St. Dds sayd he stood upon two things: He would not see his clergy oppressed nor his officers deprived of their fees. To which the Bp. of Gl: He would endeavour to take sure care that neither Bp. nor Archdeacon should oppresse. And hoped his Lordship had better thoughts of him: who replyed, I doubt not you, but know not what your successors may doe: and withall, my Lord, you promised, you would not visitt without my leave which the Bp. of Gl: denyed, the other constantly and passionately affirmed: Nay then sayd the Bp. of Gl: If you say this you may say any thinge. And here arose such a tempest, as wee feare and are not able to relate, passion it selfe was in a passion. The Bp. of St. Dds crying out, He gives me the lye, he gives me the lye: lets begon, and went away. After this wee opened our commission, swore some witnesses, adjourned to sitt in a warmer place than a miserable, open, ruinous church,<sup>1</sup> the obiect of every good Christians pittie, though no bodyes reliefe in that place.

Our proceedings were excepted ag<sup>st</sup> for the misnomen of ye place where wee opened our commission. And yett my Ld of St. Dds sent three commissioners to sitt with us, two of which were lustily engaged in the Parliament or armyes service ag<sup>st</sup> the King and well rewarded for their paines as we are credibly informed. Much pressing there was for accommo-  
dacon whether syncerely or pretensedly, wee know not, but were very ready to embrace any thing that lookt that way. And prevayled with the Bp. of Gl: *cedere de jure*. On Tuesday morning came one Mr. Williams,<sup>2</sup> whether sent or not, is not ours to determine: willing he was to be a medjator, and accepted; and carried to the Bp. of St. Dds, the Bp. of Gl:

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<sup>1</sup> The Collegiate Church of Brecon. When Bishop Lucy first came to the town, it was "all downe". Over £500 was spent on its renovation, the roof alone costing £300. All this was done in the six years following 1664 (*Tanner MS.* 146, f. 133—letter to Archbishop Sheldon, 10 Oct., 1670).

<sup>2</sup> John Williams, vicar of Llywel since 1640 and of Devynnock since March, 1660; also held the prebend of Trallwng in the Collegiate Church of Brecon and the sinecure rectory of Llandyssul in Cardigan (*Lambeth MS.* 639, f. 334). Williams was the father of Daniel Williams of Penpont, founder of a prominent Breconshire family.



concessions and condescensions, which were accepted as the sayd Williams reported, whereupon wee desisted from ye farther prosecution of our commission.

After diner the Ld Bp. of Gl: caused the termes of accord to be drawn up into an act by a publike notary, with which he and his retinue repaired to the house of the Bp. of St. Dds where he was receaved with a *Beati pacifici*: Englist by a Lady (as the Bp. of St. Davids sayd) putt up thy dagger Jamee. But after he had perused the Act and receaved the whisperings and insinuations<sup>1</sup> of one Nicolas,<sup>2</sup> a Parliament or Army creature, one that had denyed The Bp. of Gl. Archdeacon of Brecons procuracions, The Bp. of St. Dds fell into an old proverb, *Festina lentè*, and sayd he would not be surprised but would take time to consider.

Whereupon the B. of Gl: desiring to know w<sup>n</sup> he should know his mind, tooke leave and departed, and wee to our Commission againe. Aboute nine at night came the fore-named Mr. Williams with the Bp. of St. Dds resolucon drawn up into an act: wherein the former accord was slighted and the Archdeacons jurisdiction reduced to a *tantummodo citare* and procuracons: which the Bp. of Gl: utterly dislikt and resolved for his return to Gl: the next day earely. After all this, Between ten and 11 of ye clock at night The Bp. of Gl: beeing in Bed, the Bp. of St. Dds sent to invite him to diner the next day: For which he thanked him, but told the messengers he had taken order for his jorney, and the next day entred into it.

This is the true Narrative, and wee most humbly crave your pardon for detaining you so long.

Your Graces

dayly Beadesmen,

Octob: 8o<sup>3</sup>  
1664.

ANTHONY ANDREWES  
THOMAS CARLES.

Thus hospitality was given to the Gloucester visitors by one hand and denied by the other; Lucy was magnanimous and mean by turns; sweet words developed into a

<sup>1</sup> This word seems to have been altered in the MS. It now looks very much like *insufuracions* (which would be absurd).

<sup>2</sup> Giles Nicholas, rector of Llangynidr since 1638 (*Lib. Inst.*, St. David's, f. 51).

<sup>3</sup> The *D.N.B.* gives this as the date of the stormy interview between the two bishops (xxxiv, 251-252). That took place on the Monday previous. The letter seems to have been written after the Bishop and his commissioners had returned to Gloucester.

tempest of passion; *beati pacifici* tailed off into a *tantum-modo citare*. Lucy remained master of the field. Gloucester preferred to celebrate his defeat by journeying homewards than by sitting at St. David's table. It is, on the other hand, to be regretted that Dr. Nicholson's commissioners indulged in the cheap sneer so common when one Restoration royalist wanted to asperse another — by referring to Lucy's supporters as having been once lustily engaged in the Parliament's service against King Charles I. It is true that mediator Williams had kept the vicarage of Llywel throughout the interregnum and was approved for Devynnock at the very close of the Triers' dispensation;<sup>1</sup> the whispering Nicolas kept the rectory of Llangynidr uninterruptedly from 1638 to the day of this interview in 1664. Even the Archdeacon of Carmarthen had for three years been vicar of Llanegwad under Puritan auspices till he was ejected in 1650 for malignancy and refusing the "Engagement"; nor did he refuse "fifths" from the hands of Puritan paymasters.<sup>2</sup> Not one of these could be described as a man of high courage and consistency. In reality, they were compromising opportunists who had long ears and elastic consciences. At heart they remained, as they had never ceased to be, thoroughgoing Anglicans.<sup>3</sup> Bishop Lucy was not the man to patronise Puritans.

With all his pre-occupations in the year 1664, Sheldon

<sup>1</sup> For his career, see the writer's *Religious Developments in Wales* (1923), pp. 450-451.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Lords' Journals*, ix, 92; *MS. J. Walker*, e. 7, f. 209; *MS. J. Walker*, c. 13, f. 39.

<sup>3</sup> John Williams was among the men eulogised in the rare little book of poems composed by Rowland Watkins, a rector of Llanvrynach who was ejected from his living some time before 1650 (*MS. J. Walker*, e. 7, f. 214). This reference to Williams I owe to Miss Gwenllian Morgan of Brecon.

must have laughed loud and long at this amusing narrative. No length of laughter, unfortunately, could disguise the fact that here was a situation full of peril to the good name of the Church : for Lucy's *tantummodo* amounted to a veto on Nicholson's real rights as archdeacon. The Archbishop decided to refer the whole case to the arbitration of two grave Bishops, Dr. Humphrey Henchman of London and Dr. George Griffith of St. Asaph. Their judgment was a virtual verdict for Lucy.<sup>1</sup> They judged he did quite rightly in inhibiting the "commendatory archdeacon" from exercising powers in the archdeaconry of Brecon ; they narrowed down the duties of archdeacons (in this diocese) to the right of inducting clerks into benefices upon the mandate of the Bishop ; yet they *did* allow the Archdeacon of Brecon to hold visitations yearly at the accustomed times to enquire into the faults and defects of the clergy. A concession hedged in with very damaging provisoes : the summons to the clergy had to be made in the name of the Bishop or his Vicar-General ; the visitation was to be conducted in the presence of the Vicar-General or his surrogate ; all corrections were to be inflicted by the Bishop or his Vicar-General or his surrogate. Not even such emasculate visitations could be held without leave ; the request must be reasonable ; the test and touchstone of the reasonableness were to be supplied by the Bishop or his chancellor.<sup>2</sup> No archdeacon with any self-respect would ever want to hold such visitations. He would be overawed and overshadowed at all points by a hostile bishop. His rulings would be at the mercy of a supercilious Doctor of Laws. His decrees would be

<sup>1</sup> Very probably, this decision was given about the beginning of March, 1664-1665, at much the same time as the decision in the case of the two rival chancellors (*infra*, p. 168).

<sup>2</sup> W. L. Bevan : *St. David's*, pp. 197, 238.

otiose, his dignity but a shallow pretence. The ultimate effect of this verdict was that all archidiaconal visitations in the diocese of St. David's ceased until they were revived in 1836.<sup>1</sup>

It is a matter of serious doubt whether this verdict—a verdict so fruitful of consequence—was given strictly on the merits of the case. It could not be forgotten that Dr. Nicholson held, besides the archdeaconry of Brecon and the vicarage of Llandeilo in the diocese of St. David's, the sinecure rectory of Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain in the diocese of St. Asaph.<sup>2</sup> Nor could it be quite ignored that the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester drew a large revenue from lands in Glamorgan and Monmouth.<sup>3</sup> Probably the two right reverend referees thought that the dignitaries of Gloucester had rather too many irons in Welsh fires.

We must now return from the verdict of 1665 to examine certain implications of the Gloucester letter of 1664. There the "one Nicolas", otherwise Giles Nicholas of Llangynidr, is accused of denying his procuration fees to the Bishop of Gloucester as Archdeacon of Brecon. The truth is that not Nicholas only, but John Williams of Devynnock and five other clergymen of the archdeaconry as well, had persistently refused to pay these fees ever since 1660. More accurately expressed, they objected to paying the lump sum "in lieu or recompence of all synodalls and other charges of visitations" charged upon them or any of them in respect of their livings. All friendly appeals having failed, the Archdeacon presented them all at the Court of Exchequer in the Hilary Term of 1663-1664, praying the Barons to compel them to pay the sum

<sup>1</sup> 6 & 7 William IV, c 79, s. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Since 6 May, 1663 (*Excheq. First Fruits Certifs.*, St. Asaph, File 14).

<sup>3</sup> *Tanner MS.* 147, ff. 140, 141, 142, 224.

due—about 8s. 9d. from each.<sup>1</sup> The King's writ was issued on 12th February. On the first of April, 1664, each one of the defaulting clerics gave his answer at Brecon before a commission sitting "in the country". They roundly declared the Archdeacon had not yearly visited *ecclesiastim* (that is the term they used), which he ought to do if he had any jurisdiction; they denied his right to claim these fees either by custom or prescription; they broke the startling news that there was no record of a visitation by any archdeacon of Brecon for a hundred years past and that the Archdeacon's predecessors had no register or seals of office: in short, that the Bishop of St. David's exercised all manner of jurisdiction in this archdeaconry, "having prescribed so to do against the Archdeacons of Brecon and Radnor for a time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary". Even if these fees were customary (which they deny), why should a flat rate of 8s. 9d. be demanded from each incumbent when the tithes and glebes of some livings were not the fourth part of some others? How is it that the Archdeacon demands from them a sum larger than the tenths they pay to His Majesty or what the Lord Bishop of St. David's expects from them in his triennial visitation? Do seven horses eat more than thirty? These concluding questions are all pretty pertinent. Not so the dogmatic assertions made in the first part of their case, assertions which were easily disposed of by the evidences (especially that of Roberts the registrar) which were brought in rebutter by the Archdeacon.<sup>2</sup> There was no gainsaying the

<sup>1</sup> His plaint is given in *Excheq. Bills & Ans.*, Breck., No. 13, Hilary, 15-16 Chas. II.

<sup>2</sup> These depositions were taken at the dwelling-house of Nicholas de Lancy, innkeeper of Carmarthen, on 18 January, 1664-1665. A new commission had been appointed.

fact that the payment of procuration fees was of old prescribed by the Common Law. Every ecclesiastical living was charged with such payment or the payment of a fixed sum in commutation.<sup>1</sup>

For us the one important question is whether Bishop Lucy was behind this refractoriness of the clergy. Some of them have been seen in close conclave with him at Brecon; some had affected to be mediators between the two Bishops; the arguments they use are a logical application of the words used by the Bishop to Sheldon in 1663 and to Nicholson in 1664. Did he not tell the latter he would not see his clergy oppressed? And yet it is difficult to believe that a prebendary of St. David's, an ancient vicar-choral of the Cathedral, and the vicar of St. John the Evangelist in the town of Brecon would come forward to give evidence for the Archdeacon's case if the Lord Bishop were very busy against him behind the scenes.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, was it not a fact that a group of clergy and "farmers" in Carmarthenshire were refusing to pay the self-same fees to the Archdeacon of Carmarthen, and *he a loyal Bishop's man*, much at the same time?<sup>3</sup> And Giles Nicholas made it clear his objection was not to the person but to the principle, for he had shortly before the wars refused the fees to Nicholson's predecessor as archdeacon, a refusal which was upheld by the then Court of the Exchequer. The whole case is of academic interest merely: if the decision of the Court (which we have not seen) was in favour of the Arch-

<sup>1</sup> See the arguments in *Girton v. Gilder* at the King's Bench, Easter, 32 Charles II (2 *Shower*, 97).

<sup>2</sup> Theirs was a somewhat innocuous evidence. It simply went to prove the fact—a fact not questioned by anybody—that Nicholson was formally collated Archdeacon in 1644.

<sup>3</sup> *Excheq. Bills and Ans.*, Carm., No. 11, Trinity, 17 Charles II; also Mixed Counties (Carm. and Glam.), No. 6, Hilary, 18-19 Charles II.

deacon, the verdict of the two Bishops in 1665 would make it of little effect.

Though this verdict of London and St. Asaph moderated the storm between Bishop and Archdeacon, the waters were long in abating. In this same year (1665) Bishop Lucy, like all other bishops in the province of Canterbury, had to make a return to Lambeth of the various pluralists in his diocese.<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Nicholson, the meddling Archdeacon of Brecon, happened to be one of these pluralists. The entry concerning him ran as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

*The R<sup>t</sup> Reverend Father in God William L<sup>d</sup> Bpp. of Gloucester holds in comendam w<sup>th</sup> his Bp<sup>r</sup>ricke the archdeaconry of Brecon, a canonry in the Cathedral Church of St. Davids, w<sup>th</sup> the vicarage of Llandilo-Vaure in the County of Carmarthen, hee maintaines noe licensed curates nor provides licensed preachers.*

If such was indeed the truth, no doubt it ought to be bluntly said. But with what sardonic delight Dr. Lucy must have penned it ! Dr. Hugh Lloyd, the aged Bishop of Llandaff, was also an archdeacon in the diocese of St. David's and held a sinecure rectory there, that of Llangattock in Brecon. He, however, *did* keep a curate named Lewis Jones to minister in the parish, who was properly licenced by the Bishop of St. David's.<sup>3</sup> Nor is there any record of Llandaff unduly pressing his presence as archdeacon in his brother's diocese. The *Lambeth MS.* leaves the unmistakable impression that Dr. Hugh Lloyd was a proper Bishop, Dr. William Nicholson something very different.

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop's order was dated 7 July "at my Mannor House at Lambeth". The returns had to be sent up before the Feast of the Annunciation.

<sup>2</sup> *Lambeth MS.* 639, f. 334.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 332.

## (ii) THE LLANDEILO SURRENDER.

Right Reverend prelates have a right to their feelings, like other more mundane mortals. If Dr. William Lucy felt elated in 1665 by a verdict which atrophied the powers of an alien archdeacon, the whirligig of time—and Dr. William Nicholson on mischief bent—brought about its revenges. This time arrived in the autumn of this same year 1665. Just then the Bishop of Gloucester was granted the convenient living of Bishop's Cleeve in Gloucestershire. This promotion meant that he had to quit the vicarage of Llandeilo "out of his commendam" (as the old phrase hath it).<sup>1</sup> The ordinary procedure for him would have been to resign the vicarage into the hands of the patron, who was no other than Bishop Lucy himself. The extra-ordinary course was to resign it to the King in Chancery as supreme governor in matters ecclesiastical. If the King were to accept the resignation, it followed of necessity that the next presentation to the living fell to him under the Broad Seal. That is precisely what happened. The Bishop of St. David's found himself neatly dished twice within the bounds of the one transaction.

It would be courteous of Gloucester to have informed St. David's of the course he was taking. He did do so—after many days. Lucy first heard of the resignation when the Lord Chancellor asked him to give institution to the King's new choice for the vicariate. In his fury he wrote to the Lord Chancellor at Oxford (where King and Court were staying on account of the Plague) protesting most vigorously against such an unwarrantable form of surrender to the Sovereign, and absolutely refusing to admit the Sovereign's new clerk. The Archbishop saw

<sup>1</sup> "Upon his taking Cleeve"—opening words of Archbishop Sheldon's letter referred to in the next paragraph.



the letter and answered it very drily. He corrects the Bishop's law, says such resignations to the King were not very extraordinary: "it hath often been done, & when done is good". Good in law, that is. The Bishop's denial of the King's right and prerogative was more serious—"although y<sup>e</sup> living be originally in y<sup>r</sup> Patronage, you have nothing to doe to dispose of it now". He advises him to admit the King's clerk without further delay, unless he wanted to run into inconvenience and prejudice. This letter was written on 21st January, 1665-1666, from Sheldon's old quarters at All Souls.<sup>1</sup>

It did not arrive in Brecon till the 10th of February. Four days later an answer was sent to the Archbishop.<sup>2</sup> The Bishop refuses to abjure his law without a struggle. Have you not seen, he asks the Primate, a little book written by William Hughes of Gray's Inn called *The Parson's Law*, the preface to which says it was perused by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench of that day and also approved by Archbishop Laud?<sup>3</sup> Does its 19th chapter not state in express terms that a benefice with cure must be resigned to the immediate Ordinary which is the Bishop and cannot be surrendered to the King as Supreme Ordinary? I am not able to fathom his reasons, adds the Bishop, nor am I able to say whether the authorities he quotes are really authoritative. If it be said that they are not, would it not be well for something to be written which might satisfy the world of the error and prevent good people from being seduced into unhappy actions? All very manfully put. But was there no higher authority than William Hughes for Restoration

<sup>1</sup> *Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 305, f. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ff. 333-333<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> It was a book in small quarto published in 1641. Crowe of Wrexham had a copy for sale in their Catalogue for October, 1924 (see p. 16).

bishops to depend upon? The Archbishop's letter of January referred to customs of the Church of which the lawyer of Gray's Inn seemed to have been quite ignorant.<sup>1</sup>

To the serious charge of refusing the King's Seal the Bishop gives a qualified negative. He admits such a presentation was brought him upon the first resignation of my Lord of Gloucester: but if that resignation was out of order, as he had been led to believe by William Hughes, how could any such presentation be valid? Then he goes on to tell a mystifying story which, if true and if we understand him aright, involves Bishop Nicholson in conduct both irritating and unworthy: how that prelate, having first resigned Llandeilo to the King, then thought well to resign it to the proper patron, then within three hours revoked this second resignation, *both resignation and revocation being dated two months before they were severally sent to Bishop Lucy under Nicholson's own hand and seal.*<sup>2</sup> The inference is that the resignation to Lucy was revoked in order to give the King a freer hand in the new presentation, and that the whole by-play of resignation and revocation was merely a device to humble the stubborn pride of the prelate of St. David's. If the revocation stood good, said the latter, how could I proceed to collate the new clerk? He solemnly declared the Lord Chancellor did not present any clerk to him after the resignation of Nicholson came into his own (Lucy's)

<sup>1</sup> In his *Rights of the Clergy*, published in 1709, William Nelson has nothing to say in opposition to William Hughes on this point (under *Resignation*, pp. 483-485).

<sup>2</sup> Contemporary records go very far in bearing out the Bishop's story. The exact date of Nicholson's surrender of Llandeilo to the King is obscure. But the new vicar was presented by the Sovereign on 7 Nov., 1665 (*Pat. Rolls*, 17 Chas. II, pt. iii, No. 39). Nicholson's resignation only came to Lucy's hands on 30 Dec., 1665 (*Sec. Admission Certifs.*, Charles II, pt. ii, No. 45). That was but three days short of two months.

hands. Since that was the only resignation he regarded as valid, he could not be deemed guilty of any disrespect to the King or his Chancellor. But what is to be thought, he asked, of a Lord Bishop who played a double game with my Lord Chancellor and by his underhand dealing rendered me incapable of doing the King's will. "Certainly a Lay man could not be justified in such actions". Much less a Right Reverend Father in God.

Besides, said the Bishop rather illogically (this again in his letter of the 14th February), I objected very much to the particular person who was presented by the King, a person who had given me just offence, and whom I had castigated publicly at my visitation. He is a vicar sworn to residence at his vicarage, and without leave has been absent from duty for a whole year. Here the Bishop waxes eloquent upon the accursed imagination of those men (well typified by this vicar) who look upon their canonical oaths as *pro forma* only; he fears that "this Country"<sup>1</sup> has much to answer for in the neglect and contempt of such oaths. And the lion of simony lieth in the way of the conscience-less oath-breaker. However, at the tail of this breathless diatribe, the Bishop calmly tells the Archbishop he had a fortnight ago seen the brother of the King's unworthy nominee and encouraged him to "tack about" to render his brother worthy of the new promotion. In other words, Dr. Lucy was going to surrender to his King, but at his own discretion and in very easy stages. Who or what this brother was we do not know;<sup>2</sup> what methods of correction he adopted is equally obscure. Suffice it to say that the process of

<sup>1</sup> He does not say whether the term 'this Country' refers to England or Wales or the diocese of St. David's only.

<sup>2</sup> He might have been Nicholas Bevan(s), M.A., head master of the Haverfordwest 'free school' at this time (*Lambeth MS.* 639, f. 336—return of St. David's schoolmasters made in the summer of 1665).

regenerating this shameless absentee took about seven weeks—from the beginning of February to the 22nd of March.

This is the entry in the Exchequer certificate of First Fruits<sup>1</sup> :—

“*Thomas Bevan, clerk, A.M., collated to the vicarage of Ilandilovaure in the deanery of Ilandilo and Llanhowell, County Carmarthen, 22 March, 1665[-1666]. Presented under the G<sup>t</sup> seal, he was instituted into the same vicarage on the 23<sup>d</sup> of March, 1665[-1666].*”

This bald entry on the certificate does but scant justice to the personality of Thomas Bevan and to the faithful way Bishop Lucy dealt with him. It must be brought into close contact with other relevant documents in the Public Record Office. If, as the *Patent Rolls* distinctly testify, he was presented to the living on 7th November, 1665,<sup>2</sup> he had to wait nearly three months before the Bishop agreed to take his case into consideration; then followed the seven weeks' purgatory. And when at long last he was admitted to Ilandeilo, the Bishop made Thomas Bevan go through the same mill as those particular Puritan ministers who, originally approved and appointed by the Puritan Triers, had at the Restoration decided to throw in their lot with the National Church: that is, he had to go up all the way to London, appear before the Barons of the Exchequer, and give an account of his institution, his admission, his composition for first-fruits. To this day the name of Thomas Bevan looms prominent among the bundles of *Second Admission* certificates, just as if he were a poor conformable Puritan who hoped to be exonerated from paying his first-fruits a

<sup>1</sup> *St. David's*, File 14.

<sup>2</sup> 17 Chas. II, pt. iii, No. 39.

second time.<sup>1</sup> As if Bevan were not a very un-Puritanic vicar whose Bishop said he had been absent from his vicarage a whole year without leave! It was well on in 1669 before the new vicar's case was finally disposed of by Bishop and Barons. Thanks to the refractoriness of two Bishops, the path to Llandeilo was made a dolorous way for Thomas Bevan.

It was from the vicarage of Llowes in Radnor he was promoted to Llandeilo. It was while vicar there he had come under the condemnation of Bishop Lucy. When it is remembered that the vicarage of Llowes had for long been appropriated to the archdeaconry of Brecon, when it is also remembered that it was Archdeacon Nicholson who had presented him there in 1661,<sup>2</sup> it will be at once appreciated how deeply committed to the cause of Thomas Bevan Bishop Nicholson was, and how doubly obnoxious to Bishop Lucy the whole procedure appeared. The unusual course of resigning Llandeilo to the King, the delicate recommendation to the vacant vicarage of a cleric under the ban of his Bishop—all bespeak the work of a subtle tactician and of an expert manipulator of the *lex talionis*.<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Gloucester was not one of your meek and mild prelates to turn the other cheek to the smiter.

Good, even great, things are known of Nicholson : his

<sup>1</sup> Chas. II, pt. ii, No. 45. Here are to be found the certificate of the Bishop (dated 7 May, 1668) and the final memorandum of the remembrancer of the First Fruits Office (Hilary Term, 20-21 Charles II).

<sup>2</sup> Instituted 21 November (*Excheq. F. F. Certifs.*, St. David's, File 13).

<sup>3</sup> A few months after the institution of Bevan to Llandeilo Nicholson, 'in right of his Archdeaconry', presented to Llowes such a correct clerk and in such a correct manner that Bishop Lucy could find no flaw in it or him. His name was Thomas Powell. He was instituted on 22 May, 1666.

great learning, his love for learned men, his courage during the interregnum, the excellent and edifying works he wrote. His epitaph speaks of his grave demeanour and of his daily deeds of kindness. Anthony Wood thought him unsurpassed in the "critical" parts of grammar; in a later generation Dr. John Walker and Robert Nelson (in his *Life of Bishop Bull*) added more tributes to his memory.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, a just estimate of Nicholson's life and character must not ignore the tempestuous interview at Brecon nor his tactics over the Llowes-Llandeilo episode. In this perspective he stands before us as a very human man. His epitaph, like many another's, is just a little too virtuous. It is very certain that Bishop Lucy (who lived for five years after him<sup>2</sup>) would have composed one very different.

### (iii) THE TWO CHANCELLORS.

As if the contest over the archdeaconry and the irritating subtleties of Gloucester over Llandeilo were not sufficient diversions for the Bishop of St. David's, there was a protracted struggle going on, for much of the same time, as to the right holder of the Chancellorship. Of the diocese, not of the Cathedral.<sup>3</sup> The Bishop had no doubt but that the fit and proper person was a Dr. John Cruso. Some people, it was evident, thought otherwise; else why should the claims of Cruso and a rival be referred to the solemn arbitrament of two of the bench of Bishops? Thomas Aubrey was the other claimant.

This Aubrey had been made Chancellor by a grant of Dr. Roger Mainwaring, a former Bishop of St. David's,

<sup>1</sup> For these references see Walker: *Sufferings*, ii, 17; *D.N.B.*, xli, 28.    <sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Gloucester died on 5 February, 1671-1672.

<sup>3</sup> The Bishop's son Richard held this dignity from the beginning of 1663.

the grant being dated 10th February, 1640-1641, and confirmed by the Dean and Chapter on the 10th December following. The grant was for the grantee's life.<sup>1</sup> But authorities as high as Justice Doddridge and my Lord Coke were of opinion that such a grant held good during the life of the *grantor* only, and should not bind his successor; on this ground Thomas Aubrey had no claim to the office after the death of Bishop Mainwaring in 1653. Diocesan Chancellors also, as a rule, were men who had graduated as Doctors of Laws: Thomas Aubrey is invariably referred to as "Mr."; and Bishop Lucy bluntly put it that he was not fit for the office nor for the management of "any the businesse of a Civilian".<sup>2</sup> Still, notwithstanding Coke's dogmatic opinion, if a Chancellor had a grant for life from one Bishop, it was quite the exception for a succeeding Bishop to have him removed as an "*officialis fortassis fili odiosus*".<sup>3</sup> And though Aubrey was probably not very learned nor too efficient as Chancellor, there is no evidence of any effort to deprive him on the express ground of insufficiency. Foster inclines to think he was an Oxford B.C.L. from Jesus;<sup>4</sup> his burial confers upon him the full degree of "Bachelor of the Laws".<sup>5</sup> By the canons of 1604 (no. 127) such Bachelors were qualified to hold the dignity of a diocesan Chancellor. Theophilus Jones got hold of some story that Thomas Aubrey was one of the trickiest of trimmers, a gentleman who during the Puritan interregnum kindly administered the laws ecclesiastical in the archdeaconry of Brecon in

<sup>1</sup> *Excheq. Bills and Ans.*, Breck., No. 37, Mich., 23 Charles II. Deposition of Aubrey himself (and not denied by the other side).

<sup>2</sup> *Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 302, f. 141. Coote in his work on *English Civilians* found a place for Dr. Cruso (p. 84), but not for Aubrey.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of this point, see Nelson: *The Rights of the Clergy*, pp. 141-143.

<sup>4</sup> *Alumni Oxon.*, i, 44.

<sup>5</sup> *Parish Registers of Llantrithyd*, ed. H. S. Hughes, p. 42.

Puritan interests.<sup>1</sup> A story whose truth is improbable in the highest degree. Surely the historian of Brecknock was aware of the bitter attack made in the early days of the Long Parliament upon chancellors and consistory courts, of the later downfall of the episcopal system and of chancellors of dioceses as part and parcel of that system. If Thomas Aubrey was allowed to remain as pro-Puritan Chancellor, how is it there is no reference to him in the accounts of the Welsh commissioners who worked the Propagation Act<sup>2</sup> nor in the records of the Triers as preserved in the *Lambeth Augmentation Books*? Indeed, what ecclesiastical laws remained for him to administer? And why confine his activities to the archdeaconry of Brecon? A good proof of the absurdity of this story is the fact that Aubrey's Anglican enemies never laid this to his charge in the days after the Restoration.

There was no need for the Bishop to have recourse to these fairy tales. Coke's axiom, Cruso's qualifications, his good war record, Aubrey's absence from the diocese ("which hee never was neare but to receive the money")—all these would build up an unanswerable case for the removal of this *damnosa hereditas* of a pre-war pre-Lucy Chancellor. No doubt the Bishop would have succeeded had it not been that Thomas Aubrey was younger brother to Sir John Aubrey of Llantrithyd, an outstanding Royalist in Wales of the Restoration, "a constant true friend to y<sup>e</sup> Government in church and state", a gentleman not a bit backward in reminding King Charles II what a loyal servant he had been to his father in the old days.<sup>3</sup> Sir John was also well-known to Archbishop

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Breck.*, ii, (1809), p. 745.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in the Brecknock and Radnor accounts (*MS. J. Walker*, c. 13, ff. 59-68<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *C.S.P.*, 1661-1662, p. 218. The remark was occasioned by the contest between him and Dame Jane Kemeys for the tenancy of



Sheldon : was it not at his house of Llantrithyd that Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, then Warden of All Souls, and in flight from Oxford, found refuge in the early days of the Civil War? Sir John was a man of wealth as well, estimated soon after the Restoration as being worth £1,300 per annum.<sup>1</sup> This wealth and influence were exerted at full pressure in favour of his brother Thomas. Without the help of Sir John, Thomas himself could go far : his first wife allied him to the Rudds of Aberglasney, his second to the Aubreys of Ynyscedwyn, his third to one of the Justices of Great Sessions. A sister of his had married Judge David Jenkins of Hensol ; he had as son-in-law one of the powerful Herbert family.<sup>2</sup> Was not Bishop Lucy just a bit impulsive in bringing upon himself the anger of Thomas, of Sir John, of the whole Aubrey interest, with its branches running as they did into several important areas of the diocese of St. David's?

The rival claimant, Dr. John Cruso, could boast of no such influence. Like his patron the Bishop, he was an immigrant from England. A native of East Anglia,<sup>3</sup> son of a Norwich merchant, he matriculated at Caius College, Cambridge, as sizar in 1632, later becoming a Fellow of the College. In 1644 he was incorporated M.A. at Oxford, having lost his Caius fellowship because of his loyalty to the King. He was created I.L.D. in 1652, and was admitted to the College of Advocates at Doctors Commons glebes and tithes in Llantwit Major under the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.*, Charles II, vol. 396, No. 140.

<sup>2</sup> For these various connections. see G. T. Clark : *Limbus Patrum*, 341-342.

<sup>3</sup> I can find no connection between him and the *Aquila* Cruso who was ejected about 1655 from the rectory of Sutton in Sussex (*MS. J. Walker*, c. 5, ff. 219, 251). According to his last will and testament, he was actually born at *Great Yarmouth* (Theophilus Jones : *Hist. Breck.*, ii, 747).

in November of the same year.<sup>1</sup> During the wars he became successively secretary to the Bishop of Exeter and to Lord Capel; incidentally, he was taken prisoner in going from Truro to Exeter to provide clothes for the King's guard. Some property of his at Bristol was burnt during the siege of that town. At the Restoration he sent in petitions to become Chancellor either of the diocese of Worcester or that of Llandaff or that of St. David's.<sup>2</sup> No doubt he commended himself to Bishop Lucy both as an erstwhile member of Caius (where Lucy had once been resident) and as a serious sufferer in the time of the "usurped powers." It is open to some doubt at what time the Doctor first came down to Brecon to take up his duties. It is indirectly implied by a Llangattock gentleman giving evidence before an Exchequer commission in 1664 that the surrogate who sat at the consistory court of May, 1661, did so as deputy to Thomas Aubrey.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Cruso must have made his appearance, or threatened to do so, very soon afterwards.

Thomas Aubrey was not the man to sit still when his interests were in danger: in July, 1662, he sent a petition to the King (through Secretary Nicholas) to give order to the Chapter of St. David's not to admit Dr. Cruso as Chancellor before their respective claims were settled by

<sup>1</sup> *D.N.B.*, xiii, 264; Foster: *Alumn. Oxon.*, i, 360; Venn: *Alumn. Cantab.*, i, 430. In the *D.N.B.* he is put down as the author, between 1632 and 1642, of five ambitious works on the art of war. Dr. John Venn is disposed to say the father was the author (*Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius*, i, 304). One is tempted to add that neither theory is a very likely one.

<sup>2</sup> *C.S.P.*, 1660-1661, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> The deponent's name was William Thomas. The Llangattock case was concerned (*inter alia*) with the action of the Puritan minister John Davies in not baptising infants nor administering the sacrament according to the Anglican rule (*Excheq. Depos.*, Mixed Cos. (Breck. & Radnor), No. 8, Hilary, 15-16 Chas. II).

a trial at law.<sup>1</sup> The astute Secretary decided not to acquaint the King with Aubrey's desire before inviting the Bishop's observations on the matter, hoping they would be just and reasonable.<sup>2</sup> The Bishop took refuge in silence. Dr. Cruso went on executing the office and receiving the fees. In 1664 Aubrey seriously awakened up to the time and money he had lost, drew up a plaint that his patent was antecedent to Dr. Cruso's, and endeavoured to hinder the Doctor from receiving any further the emoluments of the office; in fact, he proceeded to bring an action at law to recover the profits he had lost. So bold a front did Aubrey put on his case that counsel on both sides attempted mediation; so successful apparently were these mediators that agreement on the principal points in controversy was reached and a place appointed "for the final determination of all differences concerning the said offices" of Chancellor and Vicar-General. From Dr. Cruso's story it appears all this took place in London. Before this day for final determination arrived, Aubrey surreptitiously left the capital and brought the action to trial "out of town" (that is, in Wales), with the result that the Doctor was taken off his guard and could not possibly produce some material witnesses. Aubrey got the verdict of £5 damages and £15 cost of the suit. "Which damages were assessed only upon the score of the profits of office received by Dr. Cruso," as Dr. Cruso himself is very careful to tell us. Indeed, almost all the contents of this paragraph were part of a reminiscent deposition made by the learned Doctor before the Barons of the Exchequer in 1671.<sup>3</sup>

If the Doctor speaks truth, the trial was unfair. Even

<sup>1</sup> *C.S.P.*, 1661-1662, p. 438. Sir Henry Herbert sent a petition to the same effect.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 July, 1662.

<sup>3</sup> *Excheq. Bills & Ans.*, Breck., No. 37, Mich., 23 Chas. II.

Aubrey himself felt there was no finality about it. He now bent his energies to have the whole question referred to an impartial tribunal of two Bishops. Aubrey's friends, Sir John and others, prevailed upon Bishop Lucy to agree to this course; the Bishop in turn condescended to persuade Dr. Cruso to submit *his* claims to arbitration. Reason seemed to triumph all round. The two Bishops chosen were my Lords of London and St. Asaph, the same two prelates who were asked to arbitrate on the arch-deaconry question (it is possible they found occasion to attack the two problems simultaneously). Their award was dated 2nd March, 1664-1665. It was to the effect that Thomas Aubrey should receive the profits of the two offices "until he were legally removed by due course of law", and that meanwhile Dr. Cruso was not to intromit himself to exercise the two offices. All profits and fees *already* taken by the Doctor were to remain in his hands without any challenge from Aubrey, Cruso also to be acquitted from giving any account for the same. On the whole, a victory for the Llantrithyd interest. It was, incidentally, a disclaimer of another of Theophilus Jones' tall stories that the Mainwaring patent was not sealed with the episcopal seal and had on it several erasures and interlineations.<sup>1</sup> Is it likely these two Right Reverend Fathers in God would declare, as they did, in favour of such a false and incomplete document? Not to do an injustice to Theophilus, it must be said that some explanation is wanted—which we cannot give—why Aubrey told Secretary Nicholas his patent was dated 10th February, 1638-1639, and assured an Exchequer commission it was dated 10th February, 1640-1641.<sup>2</sup> It was natural for Dr.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Breck.*, ii, 605-606.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *C.S.P.*, 1661-1662, p. 438, with *Excheq. Bills & Ans.*, Breck., No. 37, Mich., 23 Chas. II.

Cruso to say his rival's title was "in several respects defeazable". He was thinking, presumably, of the Coke-Doddridge arguments and of the general bent of the Canon Law. For in his plaint to the Exchequer he made no play upon the conflicting dates of Aubrey's original patent. We may rest assured the two Bishops did not come to their decision without a full view of all the documents.

In his chagrin Cruso for a time retired to London with the view of re-assuming work at Doctors Commons. He wants us to believe that he gave a ready compliance with the terms of the award. If this were so indeed, why did he at the peril of his health come down from London at the Christmas of 1665, stand the loss of two terms of the legal year, and pay the necessary expenses of living in the country? All these facts are admitted by the Bishop.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly Cruso came down, instigated by the Bishop, to fight for better terms. It was not a very ready compliance with the award of the Bishops that made him and Bishop Lucy to re-open the case and induce the Archbishop in person to hammer out a more equitable agreement. Whatever Sheldon inwardly thought of the two bellicose Chancellors or of Bishop Lucy—he happened to know all about the archdeaconry question just settled and of the newer problem of Llandeilo—he determined to apply his large knowledge of men and affairs to solve this unpleasant impasse in the diocese of St. David's, more especially because he had information that Cruso was determined to try the Exchequer and the Arches before he would surrender any of the rights conferred upon him by the Bishop. He examined the case from every angle and delivered his judgment in the form of five propositions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 305, f. 336v.

<sup>2</sup> *Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 302, f. 140. No date is attached to them, but they must have been given out in the early spring of 1666.

They read as follows (the phraseology is Sheldon's, the spelling is modernised) :—

- (i) It will be consented unto that Mr. Aubrey keep his patent in its full vigour and effect, and that he have the nomination of the surrogate<sup>1</sup> and seal-keepers, and his Lordship [of St. David's] is content that they be the same already nominated by Mr. Aubrey.
- (ii) That before any other allocations of the profits be made (as hereafter is proposed) the several seal-keepers shall be obliged to pay to Mr. Aubrey out of their receipts £80 per annum by equal quarterly payments during his life.
- (iii) That Mr. Aubrey have the style and title of Chancellor, and power by this transaction reserved to him to act as often as he please in the several consistories within the diocese.
- (iv) That Doctor Cruso be "commissionated" by his Lordship the Lord Bishop of St. David's as co-adjutor to Mr. Aubrey to all intents of law in Mr. Aubrey's absence, and to be co-assessor in the several consistories when present, and that the remainder of the profits of the office (Mr. Aubrey's quota being first paid and satisfied) be assigned to Dr. Cruso, and that to that end the officers be subject to give their accounts to him and ordered to pay the said remainder accordingly.
- (v) That Mr. Aubrey consent that the Doctor's patent be confirmed, the Dr. giving caution to Mr. Aubrey not to act as Vicar General unless he outlive Mr. Aubrey.

A rather clumsy compromise. What great sum of prudence was called for to work proposition iv, and what little grace there was to meet it! In this "new scripture", as Bishop Lucy termed this latest solution, Cruso's cause had made considerable advance. He was now to be co-adjutor and co-assessor with Aubrey and (by the implication of the last clause) to succeed in the two offices at Aubrey's death. But the Archbishop could not be expected to forget the family of Llantrithyd and its kind-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lewis, the rector of Llanveigan, seems to have acted for some years both as surrogate to Aubrey and deputy to the Archdeacon of Brecon. He must have been a veritable Solomon to be on anything like talking terms with the Bishop.

ness to him in the old days.<sup>1</sup> So the key to the position was still left in Thomas Aubrey's hands: if the proposals of 1666 did not quite repeat the very favourable award of 1665, they assured him of the title and style of Chancellor, allowed him to keep his patent in full vigour, and assigned him the lion's share of the profits. Such concessions, important though they were, were not enough to satisfy the hopes of Llantrithyd—for them the whole loaf, no half measures, not even three-quarters. To the Bishop the new propositions spelt the defeat of his candidate: he wanted Dr. Cruso and nobody but Dr. Cruso. It was well-nigh impossible to find a mean between such ridiculous extremes. In practice, it must be admitted it was foolish to saddle the angry Bishop with an official odious to him (the very painful predicament which Coke and others wanted to guard against by insisting that a Chancellor's patent died out with the life of the Bishop who granted it). Was it possible, in these untoward circumstances, to make yet another effort at accommodation? Difficult as was the situation, and unlovely the atmosphere, the experiment was tried.<sup>2</sup> First, it was suggested that Aubrey should surrender his patent on condition of receiving an annuity of £70 for life, a suggestion particularly foolish since Sheldon's second proposition had already awarded him £10 per annum more. Aubrey's answer was that the Archbishop wished him to keep his patent, not to give it up. The land became suddenly alive with amateur arbitrators. John Williams, the opportunist rector of Devyn-

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that Thomas Aubrey was actually Chancellor of St. David's when Sheldon took refuge in his brother's house.

<sup>2</sup> It is rather curious that there was no suggestion of drawing up a new patent by which the Chancellorship was jointly vested in Aubrey and Cruso, as was done later in the difficult case of Dr. John Jones of Llandaff (Nelson: *The Rights of the Clergy*, p. 142; Wood's *Life and Times*, iii, 361-362, 413). Needless to say, that solution was not a success.

nock, was as ready to bring the two Chancellors together as he was to keep the two Bishops apart.<sup>1</sup> The Precentor of St. David's, the Dr. William Thomas who succeeded Lucy as Bishop, attempted to bring Aubrey to reason; surrogates and proctors played minor parts as mediators; the case came under the unofficial review of Sir Giles Sweit, the foremost ecclesiastical lawyer of the day; wonderful to relate, there was a piquant interview between Thomas Aubrey himself and the Bishop in the latter's study at Brecon. The result of that interview was an appeal to Dr. Cruso to allow Aubrey a greater proportion of the profits than the £80 per annum postulated in the Archdeacon's propositions, the requisite bonds to be drawn up with the consent of counsel. Though the Doctor was willing to come to new terms on the points at issue, Aubrey wrapped himself in a mysterious silence. He would come neither to the ford nor to the bridge.

The Bishop's anger now led him into very violent courses.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the award of 1665 and the compromise of 1666 he allowed Dr. Cruso once more to act as his Chancellor and ordered him to summon his rival to appear at Brecon to answer for his contumacious behaviour. Summons after summons was sent, but Aubrey never came near. One time he pleaded infirmity and inability to travel, only to be reminded that he was well enough to attend on horseback a friend's funeral at Llandaff.<sup>3</sup> His proctor, "a discreete man", *did* come on

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>2</sup> The main authorities for this group of paragraphs are the Bishop's two letters to the Archbishop, one dated 7 May, 1666 (*Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 302, f. 141), the other on 1 August of the same year (*ib.*, c. 305, ff. 336-337).

<sup>3</sup> This incident does not rest upon a better authority than Theophilus Jones' *Hist. Breck.* (ii, 605-606), a particularly frail authority where Thomas Aubrey is concerned (see NOTE at the end).



one occasion, and stayed so long in the town “ y<sup>t</sup> it gave him much oportunitie to search out y<sup>e</sup> bottome of those pceedings w<sup>ch</sup> otherwise he could not have had ’’. The discreet proctor did not depart before he had secured a verbatim copy of the charges laid against his master by Dr. Cruso. Aubrey’s contempt led the Bishop to the extreme step of excommunication. It is not often the world is treated to the spectacle of one Chancellor prosecuting another and of a Bishop excommunicating the Chancellor of his diocese.

It looked as if the Bishop’s high-handed proceedings would succeed in giving reality to the claims of his candidate. But he had not counted sufficiently upon Sir John Aubrey’s influence at Lambeth. News went from Llantrithyd of the merry doings at Brecon; and no doubt the Primate was urged to secure from the Dean of the Arches an inhibition against the irregularities of the Bishop and his Chancellor.<sup>1</sup> When that inhibition was successfully secured, Sir John decided to give the irascible Lucy a piece of his mind. Very bluntly he did it; overbearing knight *versus* overbearing Bishop. He sent a message through his nephew, Charles Walbeiffe of Llanhamlach,<sup>2</sup> that an Aubrey could not be defamed with impunity and that money and friends would both be exhausted before he would suffer his brother Thomas to lose his office. The Bishop tells us he merely smiled at these threats; but his subsequent actions prove the smile to have been a very

<sup>1</sup> It was not at all uncommon for persons under excommunication to ask the Archbishop to exercise his influence at the Court of Arches. Examples from Wales are Rice Wynn of Castell Caereinion’s petition to Sheldon (*Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 302, f. 114) and Rowland Williams of Llanbeblig’s letter to Sancroft (*Tanner MS.* 146, f. 85).

<sup>2</sup> This is only one of the many ways of writing this surname. He was son to Sir John’s sister Mary (G. T. Clark: *Limbus*, 342; Theoph. Jones: *Hist. Breck*, ii. 584). Lucy in one place incorrectly calls him ‘sonne in law’ to Sir John.

poor effort. With another messenger Sir John sent the Dean's letter from the Arches and the Dean's inhibition under a separate cover. What happened to the second messenger and that messenger's companion (with young Walbeiffe there were three altogether) must be told in the Bishop's own words—vivid, incoherent, unpunctuated. After the second messenger had handed over the letter with a refusal to show the inhibition (presumably because it was addressed to Dr. Cruso),

*Then sayd I freind you have done yo<sup>r</sup> errand, hee stay'd I told him againe freind you have done yo<sup>r</sup> errand you may be gone: and I think y<sup>e</sup> third time: soe then hee going away my man going out of y<sup>e</sup> doore w<sup>th</sup> him finds another fellow but a degree above a beggar listening at y<sup>e</sup> doore hee asked him his businesse, but had noe answeere nor any accompt what hee did there: soe he tooke y<sup>e</sup> fellow by y<sup>e</sup> shoulder and at y<sup>e</sup> doore gave him a kick in y<sup>e</sup> breech; y<sup>e</sup> fellow complaines to y<sup>e</sup> judye S<sup>r</sup>. Richard Lloyd,<sup>1</sup> hee sends a Warrant for my man, I hearing of it sent my man w<sup>th</sup> sufficient men to be his baile; the judge hearing the cause calls in his warrant and dismisses him. My Lord whether this fellow had any thing to doe w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> mandatary, I to this day know not: nor did I forbid any man to come to mee, nor did my man hinder any man from comeing; but if hee had beate him soundly he had served him well, and y<sup>e</sup> fellow deserved to be bound to his goode behavior for Eaves dropping as I remember is y<sup>e</sup> justice of Peace his language.*

It just required Lucy's three rasping crescendos, the

<sup>1</sup> This was Sir Richard Lloyd of Esclys (or Esclusham), appointed Justice of the three counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock and Radnor in July 1660 at a salary of £50 p.a. (*Bodl. Rawlinson MS. A. 119, f. 17*). At the risk of irrelevance, it might be said that in March 1669 Sir Richard, as well as the other Justices of Great Sessions in Wales, saw this £50 increased by £100 a year (*Cal. of Treasury Books, Restoration*, ed. Dr. W. A. Shaw, iii, pt. i, p. 205).

charge of eavesdropping, the violent scene at the Bishop's door, and the interference of a Justice of Great Sessions, to give touches of human picturesqueness to an otherwise petty story. Needless to add, all this strange news, highly seasoned and properly biased, was sent in due course from Llanhamlach to Llantrithyd, and from Llantrithyd to Lambeth House. From Lambeth on 19th July, 1666, came a strong letter to the Bishop, the more strong because neither Lucy nor Cruso had ever tried to observe the terms laid down by the Archbishop earlier in the year.

In all his letters of this period the Bishop was wrought to a high pitch of declamation against Thomas Aubrey. He protests to the Primate he will refuse to countenance Aubrey or make good any Act he may pronounce. Fool he calls him for his many declarations "to averre what was not fitt for him to act"; knave he was for being false to his many promises (what promises the Bishop does not condescend to say). He wants His Grace to take his protecting hand off Mr. Aubrey and leave him to be prosecuted according to his deserts (what exact grounds for prosecution Aubrey had given is left to the imagination). He enters a strong plea for Dr. Cruso, tells of the way the Doctor had been scandalised by malicious misinformation, and of the losses he had sustained by being driven from pillar to post in search of a settlement. It was all in vain. "I have noe mind to putt in *one*", wrote the Archbishop; in other words, I am not going to put out Sir John Aubrey's brother in order to put in Dr. William Lucy's friend; in other words again, the two of them must live and let live within the four corners of my five propositions. All this, let us repeat, in letters that passed from Brecon to Lambeth and from Lambeth to Brecon. Soon the Bishop expected to be up in London to attend the autumn session of Parliament and to moider the

ears of Sheldon with fresh fulminations against Thomas Aubrey, with savage reflections upon the whole house of Llantrithyd. The Archbishop was saved by an act of God (or of the King's enemies): the Great Fire which had destroyed old St. Paul's and eighty other churches served the good purpose of keeping St. David's away from the capital. "This amasing fire w<sup>ch</sup> God hath visited the City w<sup>th</sup> hath putt a stop upon that resolution", wrote the Bishop.<sup>1</sup> He was going to wait for more "indifferency" of health and for better news of "accomodations" at Westminster. Sheldon, burdened with the terrible legacy of fortune, must have felt immensely relieved. Lucy in Brecon was bad enough; in London he would be simply intolerable.

In none of his letters to Lambeth did the Bishop tell of the handsome way he had taken to make life worth living for his much-abused Chancellor: how he had collated him on 21st April, 1666, to a canonry in the collegiate church of Brecon and to the prebend of Llanwrthwl.<sup>2</sup> The year after he collated him to the vicarage of Llan-santffraid in Elfael<sup>3</sup> and to one of the cursal prebends of St. David's.<sup>4</sup> In 1669 he was granted the good living of Cefnlllys in Radnor. I have failed to find confirmation of the Cefnlllys preferment among the certificates sent by the Bishop to the remembrancer of First Fruits; but an *Exchequer Deposition* of 1679, sworn by the Doctor himself, distinctly states he had been rector there for ten years, and was then suing various gentlemen of the parish for arrears of tithe.<sup>5</sup> A man who at the end of 1669 held

<sup>1</sup> *Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 305, f. 338 (from Brecon, 15 Sept., 1666).

<sup>2</sup> *Excheq. First Fruits Certificates*, St. David's, File 14. <sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, 25 Sept.

<sup>4</sup> *Bodl. MS. Willis* (i.e., Browne Willis) 108, f. 117<sup>v</sup>. Collated on 15 July, 1667.

<sup>5</sup> Radnor, No. 45, Trinity, 31 Charles II. The chief defaulters were an Edward Davies and a squire named William Probert.

a vicarage, a rectory, a canonry, a prebend, and received in addition (it is assumed) some proportion of the Chancellor's fees, could not be very badly off.

Fortified by these emoluments, Dr. Cruso felt bold enough in 1671 to ask the Barons of the Exchequer for a writ of subpœna to compel Aubrey to appear before them and answer certain charges. To explain these charges the learned Doctor has to go back to the award of the two Bishops in 1665, more particularly to that part of their award which gave him the fees and profits from the time he took up the duty up to that year. According to him Aubrey had of late set on foot a prosecution to recover those same profits, "minding nothing less than his observance of the award". He desires the Barons to give him the benefit of their equitable jurisdiction, as he has no means at Common Law of compelling Aubrey to obey the decision of the Bishops. The writ was granted on 28th November, 1671, and a commission "in the country" appointed to take down the answers of Thomas Aubrey. When their names are examined, they are found to consist of his own brother John and seven other gentlemen of the Vale of Glamorgan. Before such a congenial company (any two could form a quorum) meeting at Bonvilston<sup>1</sup> on 19th January, 1671-1672, Thomas expatiates on the history of his patent, on his disturbance by Dr. Cruso, on the award of the Bishops. It is true, he said, Dr. Cruso was to keep the fees he had already taken; unfortunately, he has not paid up the costs and damages due to me from a previous action at law decided against him.<sup>2</sup> "If he will not obey the considered judgment of a court of record, I shall not respect the episcopal award which allowed him the fees". No damages, no fees. Aubrey

<sup>1</sup> It was at Bonvilston that Aubrey lived. Most likely the commission met at his house.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 167.

explained he had prosecuted him under a *scire facias* upon that judgment and confessed he had taken out execution for the levying of the same. And he hopes the Court will not restrain him from exacting his due remedy.<sup>1</sup> Since Aubrey had come out so well under the award of the two Bishops, would it not have been more manly of him to let those paltry damages and costs pass into oblivion? Since the Archbishop's proposals gave the Doctor a present interest in the Chancellor's emoluments and the certain reversion of the office if he survived Aubrey, did *he* not show a poor spirit in delaying to pay up those same damages and costs? The last vision we have of these legal fighting-cocks—while *both* were alive—is in the Court of Exchequer,<sup>2</sup> the one praying for equity and the other for justice, each careful to style himself “Chancellor and Vicar-General of the diocese of St. David’s”. Was there ever such perversity?

The Bonvilston answers were given within two months of the issue of Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence. What with the freedom given to Dissenters by that Indulgence, what with the childish strife that paralysed the ecclesiastical arm in the largest diocese in Wales, the enemies of the Church grew apace—Stephen Hughes rode unhindered from Swansea to the utmost confines of Carmarthenshire; John Weaver, excommunicated for unlicensed schoolmastering at Bettws Diserth, turned to unlicensed preaching at New Radnor,<sup>3</sup> Henry Maurice,

<sup>1</sup> For Cruso's deposition and Aubrey's answers, see *Excheq. Bills and Ans.*, Breck., No. 37, Mich., 23 Charles II.

<sup>2</sup> It is not likely, with the vexatious delays in Exchequer procedure at this time, that any decision on the matter was given before Aubrey's death in 1673.

<sup>3</sup> Unlicensed because, though his house there was registered as a meeting-place, he himself was not licensed to preach in it (*St. Pap. Dom.*, Chas. II., Entry Book of Licences. p. 255).

newly migrated from Salop to Llanigon, led a Dissenting crusade right up to the walls of Brecon.<sup>1</sup> The vigour of nonconformity in the age of the Indulgence has often been pointed out. Not so clearly is it known that the consistory courts of St. David's were shorn of their terrors because no one exactly knew who had the right to preside in them. "One might excommunicate, the other absolve". The Bishop, it is true, encouraged Chancellor Cruso to punish those Dissenters who dared to preach without a licence or in places which had not received the King's *imprimatur*. The merry retort was that they would "snoake" his Chancellor.<sup>2</sup> To such a sad pass had matters become! No wonder the Bishop had admitted, six years before the Indulgence, that the diocese was daily declining to ruin for lack of discipline.<sup>3</sup> At the beginning of 1673, just when the Indulgence itself was declining to its end, the Bishop writes to assure the Archbishop he proposed to "walk" the archdeaconry of Brecon in search of those secret seminaries of the Dissenters which gave such grave concern to the high ecclesiastical authorities; he was going to send Chancellor Cruso to "walk" in the three remoter archdeaconries.<sup>4</sup> This sounds very much like sending a Doctor of Laws into exile, to overawe wild men who might perchance think him a Chancellor without fear and (owing to their ignorance of affairs) without reproach. Or was it possible for some presumptuous itinerant preacher to upset Lucy's Chancellor with the news that the real Chancellor was still alive at Bonvilston? In any

<sup>1</sup> For these pieces of information, see *Tanner MS.* 146, ff. 138-138<sup>v</sup> (a letter sent early in 1673 from Bishop Lucy to Archbishop Sheldon).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 138<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of 7 May, 1666, to the Archbishop (*Bodl. Add. MS.* c. 302, f. 141).

<sup>4</sup> *Tanner MS.* 146, f. 113 (letter to Sheldon from Brecon, 20 Feb., 1672-1673).

case, even a Doctor of Laws would have to be very circumspect in dealing with Dissenters at this juncture. For the cancellation of the Indulgence did not mean the withdrawal of the licences; *they* were not called in till the beginning of 1675. He had to be careful not to get "smoaked."

Theophilus Jones says Aubrey died in 1665; as we have seen, he was very much alive in 1672. Joseph Foster and Dr. John Venn both state that Dr. Cruso was undoubted Chancellor of St. David's from 1667 to 1680-1681; they cannot have read the Archbishop's proposals in the Dolben Papers nor the terms of Aubrey's answers at Bonvilston. Aubrey stubbornly stuck to the style and title of Chancellor up to the day of his death. He was buried with his fathers at Llantrithyd on 20th December, 1673, as "Thomas Aubrey, Bachelor of the Laws and Chancelor of the Diocess of St. Davies".<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Cruso came to his own at last and enjoyed the dignity without a competitor for about seven years. His death is placed in 1681. He had drawn up his will some years before.<sup>2</sup> It is a melancholy document full of quaint phrases and obscure references, very particularly obscure to those who are not acquainted with the long struggle described in these pages. "I have not wasted an estate or mispent what revenue God has pleased to give me, but that the necessity of my affayres in the world and the iniquity of men enforced me to runne in debt".<sup>3</sup> The chief "affayre" was the endless pursuit of the Chancellorship, the iniquitous men were the two Llantrithyd brothers (although it is well to say that when he wrote these words he had not troubled the Exchequer with the story of the Cefnlllys debtors<sup>4</sup>). Little did he think when

<sup>1</sup> *Parish Registers*, ed. H. S. Hughes, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> 21 May, 1678.

<sup>3</sup> Theoph. Jones: *Hist. Breck.*, ii, 748.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 176.



riding down to Wales in the joyous days of the Restoration that he was about to pit himself against one of the most powerful families in the Principality; less did he know that the Bishop who had so impulsively appointed him had so little of that sweet reasonableness which finds a way out of the most difficult situations. He seems to have died comparatively poor. His successor was Bishop Lucy's son Richard, who, after holding the Chancellorship of the Cathedral for eighteen years, now became Chancellor of the diocese. The sturdy Bishop had passed away four years previously.

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NOTE: THE INEXACTITUDES OF THEOPHILUS JONES.

(*Hist. Breck.*, ii, 605-606, 745, 746-748).

The historian of Brecknock did not usually talk without the book. Over Thomas Aubrey, somehow, he is wonderfully mysterious and woefully inaccurate. It was not enough for him to give credence to the impossible story of Aubrey's compromise with the Puritan powers without a hint as to the patent he held from a Bishop of St. David's or to say he died in 1665 when he lived for eight years afterwards. Nowhere does he bring him into contact with the Aubreys of Llantrithyd. Though G. T. Clark refers to Aubrey's three wives (*Limbus*, 341), and though the parish registers of Llantrithyd record the burial of one of them (p. 40), Jones makes him take in marriage only a Cardiff widow named Bridget Samyn(e), quite oblivious of his own entry in vol. ii, p. 655, that the Chancellor had married a daughter of Morgan Aubrey of Ynyscedwyn (she is the second in Clark's list, *Limbus*, 341, 344). There was a Samyne family in Cardiff; there was even a Bridget Samyne; but the references to her

in the muniments of the city do not in any way bring Thomas Aubrey into the story (*Cardiff City Records*, ii, 89). Does Theophilus mean to suggest she was his fourth wife? Further, he points to the omission of both Aubrey and Cruso from the list of Chancellors given by Browne Willis in his work on St. David's, but adds that Willis *does* refer to them in a MS. placed between the leaves of the Bodleian copy of the *Survey*. The only Chancellors specified by Browne Willis were the Chancellors of the *Cathedral*, of whom Vicar Prichard of Llandoverly was one (p. 156). If he meant to add Cruso and Aubrey to that list, then it was well he left their names in MS. and not in the printed book. He would have made a sad mistake. Our historian seems to think also that Thomas Aubrey, being a diocesan Chancellor *not* in holy orders, was an incongruity: in a diocesan Chancellor it was not incongruous, in a Cathedral Chancellor it was. It was a much greater anomaly to find a Chancellor like Dr. Cruso, not only in holy orders, but holding numerous ecclesiastical preferments in the diocese of which he claimed to be Chancellor. In the *History of Brecknock* we are given the impression that Dr. Cruso, after his appointment by Bishop Lucy, was constantly resident in the diocese: this is to forget his return to Doctors Commons after the unfavourable award of 1665. Nor does Theophilus appear to have searched the *Exchequer Depositions* nor the *Bills and Answers* (among which Dr. Cruso's summary of the award is to be found), nor to have consulted the *Dolben Papers* (which contain the Archbishop's proposals of 1666). But this is to judge the Brecknock historian by impossible standards: the *Dolben Papers* were in private hands in Northamptonshire when he published his second volume in 1809—they did not come into the Bodleian before 1821; and it is quite a modern habit to rummage

among the records of the Exchequer for news about religious developments in Wales. [Since writing the above I have had an opportunity of examining the Bodleian copy of Browne Willis' *Survey of St. David's*, annotated by himself on interleaved pages. Inserted after p. 96 of the printed copy, and foliated 128, is a list of the Vicars-General or Chancellors of St. David's *diocese*, a list which includes both "Tho : Awbrey" and "John Cruso"; on folio 189 is another list in which Aubrey and Cruso figure again, correctly described as Chancellors *of the diocese*. The latter folio says that Aubrey died "abt 1666", which Theophilus Jones translated into 1665].

# Edmund Prys : Archdeacon of Merioneth.<sup>1</sup>

NOTES OF AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY THE

VEN. A. OWEN EVANS, ARCHDEACON OF BANGOR,  
on the unveiling of a memorial of Edmund Prys, at the  
Cathedral, Bangor, 12th March, 1927.

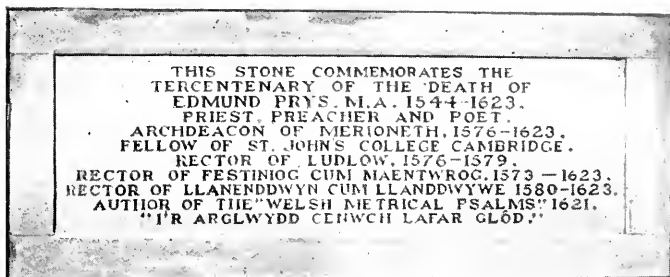
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There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported.

Bu rhai ohonynt hwy, gyfryw ag a adawsant enw ar eu hôl, fel y mynegid en clod hwynt. (*Ecclesiasticus*, xlv, 8.)

It may be within recollection that in 1921 a sermon was preached in this Cathedral Church in which there was a reference to the fact that that year was the tercentenary of the publication of the Metrical Psalms of Edmund Prys. To-day we have witnessed the consummation of the movement, which was then initiated, for a fitting remembrance of the man who was instrumental in the production of a book, which not only proved a glorious memorial of scholarship and erudition, but also for three centuries held a special place in the religious life of Wales. During 1923, which was the tercentenary of the death of the Archdeacon, commemorative services were held generally throughout the Principality, and where Welshmen congregate, and by special sermons, lectures and addresses attention was drawn to the man and his works. Though

<sup>1</sup> See the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1922-23, pp. 112-168, for a notable paper on "Edmund Prys" by Archdeacon Evans. These notes, and the accompanying illustration, are inserted here as supplying an interesting sequel.—*F.E.*



Tablet Memorial to Edmund Prys in Bangor Cathedral.



*To face p. 184.*

Bangor Cathedral: The reputed "resting place" of Owen Gwynedd.



not specially organised, the idea was so sympathetically received that no difficulty was experienced anywhere to get people to listen to the story. Edmund Prys was a household name in Wales. Men revered his name though they were ignorant of the details of his life, and of his place in history.

It may reasonably be asked, "Why was this not done before"? What is the business of everyone, as a rule, is what is most often neglected in life. Of all places which I visited last year the most unkempt and uncared for spot was the summit of Snowdon. We were told not many days ago by the Prime Minister that care should be taken of our natural wealth in the way of open spaces and scenery. We might begin with Snowdon. On the 12th of August last year the place was simply littered with garbage, coal-ashes and cinders, and ruins of ramshackle wooden huts which were more than an eye-sore. I suppose there is an owner even of the top of Snowdon, and probably a tenant. We might ask, Why should not the highest spot in England and Wales be cared for? Why should not the place, to which so many thousands resort every year, be the concern of somebody or other? It should be the business of everybody to see that such a place is kept in proper order, but, alas! it is to be feared that as in the case of the commemoration of many of our great figures in history, Snowdon is neglected and forsaken when summer is over, and left to the mercy of the snows and storms of winter.

Thus it has been with the memory of men like Edmund Prys. The Memorial which has been unveiled is neither ornate nor costly, but it suffices for our requirements. It strikes a note of thankfulness to God, and of grateful acknowledgment of services rendered by the man. In addition to this mural tablet I may mention that enough

money was collected to secure an annual prize for students at St. David's College, Lampeter, for special proficiency in the knowledge of the Welsh Prayer Book and the Psalms of Edmund Prys.

The record on the tablet is fairly correct and I would only call your attention just to one or two points which perhaps require a little elucidation. Without a doubt Edmund Prys was one of the greatest Welsh scholars of his time, as well as a real benefactor to Wales. Together with the Welsh Bible, his Metrical Psalms will prove worthy of comparison with any similar work in any language. He deserves to be venerated with just pride and acclamation. Whatever view we take of him we must admit that he supplied a real need for his time, and he has left a monument of learning which even yet has not faded from sight. Many Welsh hymn-writers whom we might mention have had their day, and whether due to style or matter their popularity has waned. The Hebrew Psalter which Edmund Prys translated is one of the most human documents in the literature of the world. It may be criticised but when we consider how well it supplies representations of different moods and phases of thought and mentality, we must acknowledge its greatness. Efforts have been made in different tongues to put the Hebrew Psalms into rhyme, but I venture to assert that the work of the then Archdeacon of Merioneth will bear comparison with the best. The great blemish of the Version is the want of variety in metre; but when the translation is tested it proves to be a wonderful piece of work. Strange to relate the book was never printed, nor did it appear as a single work. It was always attached to some other volume. Apart from the Welsh Bible, what other Welsh book saw 108 issues? Its last appearance as a complete work was from Glasgow in 1868 as an addendum to the



Bible of Peter Williams, under the supervision of John Kilsby Jones.

On the tablet Edmund Prys is described as Preacher. In the time of Prys this was a great honour. No one below the standing of a Bishop or a Dean was permitted to preach on the great doctrines of the Christian Faith but those who were especially licensed to do so. In his time there were only five such preachers in the whole of North Wales. All the other clergy had to confine their efforts to the Book of Homilies. The Government of the day had a care for the "Reformed Religion".

With respect to his stay at Ludlow<sup>1</sup> there is no question that he was Rector of the parish, and resided there for some time. He was never chaplain to the Court of the Marches of Wales. That post at that time was occupied by Dr. David Powell, the first Welsh Historian to appear in print. Ludlow is peculiarly situated with respect to its clerical staff. The parish has not only a Rector but also two assistant clergy who are called Reader and Preacher respectively. It is so to-day, as it was when Prys was Rector of Ludlow. In his time the Reader and Preacher were Thomas Holland and Charles Langford, both famous men in their day. It is noteworthy that the four contemporary clerics in connection with the parish of Ludlow were Fellows of their college—Powell and Langford were Fellows of All Souls, Oxford, Holland of Balliol, and Prys of St. John's, Cambridge. The first three mentioned were Doctors in Divinity, but Prys never proceeded farther than Master in Arts.

One point more. Undoubtedly Edmund Prys, like Bishops Richard Davies and William Morgan before him, made a financial sacrifice to produce his book. In the year 1621, when the Metrical Psalms appeared, we find that

<sup>1</sup> See *Cymmrodorion Transactions*, Session 1922-23, p. 130.

the Archdeacon mortgaged the income of his Archdeaconry to the extent of £200 (which at that time represented a considerable sum) presumably to find means to publish his work. We too often forget the great sacrifices made by such men as Edmund Prys in order to assist us to climb the higher paths of life.

The commemoration stone has been placed in close proximity to the spot where, it is said, rests the remains of Prince Owen Gwynedd, the contemporary of the Archbishops Baldwin and Thomas à Becket, and Archdeacon Giraldus Cambrensis. Thus do men and affairs pass on in endless procession. The Prince of Gwynedd died in 1169 and Edmund Prys in 1623, and we come to worship in 1927 on the very spot where these men moved and lived. We cannot but be mindful of that constant factor in men's existence which has neither a beginning nor an end.

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